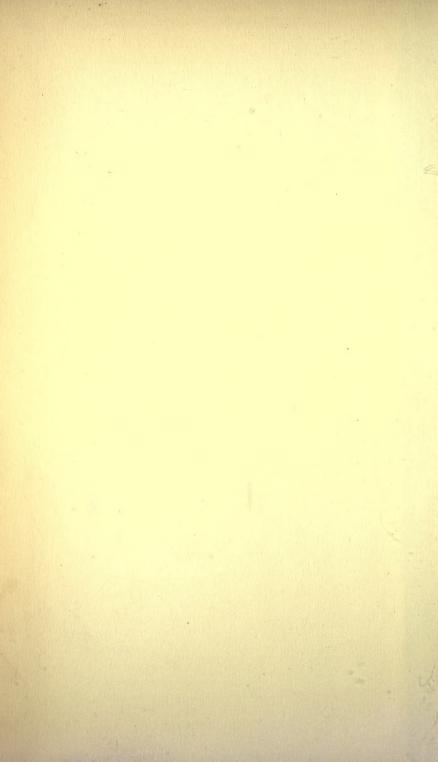
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NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS.

1875-6.



New Shakspere Society
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NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S

TRANSACTIONS.

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NOTICES OF MEETINGS, 1875-6.

T.WELFTH MEETING, Friday, Jan. 8, 1875.

Minutes of Members' Meeting.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read.

The names of the following new Members were read —

The Rev. Alfred Ainger.

Prof. C. Raddatz.

Wm Taylor.

Bolton Public Lib. and Musm.

Geo. Doe.

W. W. Ward.
C. Rennick.
J. S. Philpotts.

On the motion of the Director it was resolved unanimously:

That the best thanks of the Members of the Society be offered to H. R. H. Prince Leopold, one of the Vice-Presidents, for the gift of the Parallel-Text Edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, made by his Royal

Highness to the New Shakspere Society.

It was then further resolved:—That the cordial thanks of the Members be presented to P. A. Daniel, Esq., for the care and diligence which he has bestowed upon the Texts of Romeo and Juliet, edited by him for the New Shakspere Society; the value of Mr Daniel's services being enhanced by the personal sacrifice he has made to remain in England in order to carry out his work for the Society.

A vote of thanks was also unanimously passed to Dr C. M. Ingleby, for the gift of 370 copies of his work entitled 'The Still Lion,' and to Mr Furnivall for 500 copies of his "Introduction to

'Gervinus,'" for distribution among the Members.

The Director reported that Part II., completing the 'Transactions' for 1874, was now at press, and that the reprints of *Henry V*, edited by Dr. Niebelson, would go to the printer's part week.

by Dr Nicholson, would go to the printer's next week.

The Paper for this evening was, 'On the Two Quartos of *Hamlet*, 1603, 1604,' by the Rev. E. A. Abbott, D.D., and was read by the Author.

Dr Abbott contended that the incomplete Quarto of 1603 contained nothing of Shakspere's that was not in the Second Quarto of 1604, and did not therefore represent an earlier state of the play, although it did contain large alterations of Shakspere's work by the Pirate who arranged for press the incomplete notes and recollections of the play shown in the Second Quarto. These alterations were due

to the Pirate's desire to make the play more of an acting one, and less

of a philosophical one.

represented by Q1.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Dr Abbott, and he was unanimously requested to prepare his Paper for printing in the Society's Transactions, although he had not originally intended it to

be printed.

Mr Furnivall could not persuade himself that the very different view of Hamlet's mother taken by QI, a view of such great importance in regard to the motive of the play, was due to the compiler of QI. The change from her innocence in QI, to the doubt of it in Q2, was Shakspere's change. He believed that Shakspere first partially recast the old Hamlet, and that that recast was more or less

Mr Simpson also held that Q1 represented the old Corambis *Hamlet* as partially recast. The change of names in Q2 showed it. When Q2 was produced, then the old play would be printed, with, possibly, portions of the new play inserted. Other cases of this

occurred.

Dr Nicholson and other members also contended that QI repre-

sented an earlier version of the play than Q2.

Dr Abbott admitted that he had perhaps assigned too much to the Pirate in attributing to him the changes—almost recasts—of the characters of the Queen and King, &c.; these were perhaps due to the old play; but he still doubted whether Q1 contained more than one line worthy of Shakspere which was not in Q2.

This being the first Meeting in the new year, it was moved,

seconded, and resolved :--

"That the Director, the Members of Committee, and other Officers, be requested to accept the best thanks of the Society for their services during the past year."

THIRTEENTH MEETING, Friday, Feb. 12, 1875.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

The following list of new Members was read:—

Rev. A. C. Auchmuty.
G. B. Ackworth.
H. R. Ladell.
Baron Heath.
R. A. Heath.
Earl of Dartrey.
W. J. Rawley.
J. K. Barnes.
F. M. Bartholomew.
C. R. Ward.

R. H. Kay.
Rev. M. W. Mayow.
Arnold H. Page.
Rd. Mitchell.
R. W. Boville.
Rev. J. Jenkins, D.D.
Rev. M. Baldwin.
Mrs H. Pickersgill.
Faversham Institute.
Miss F. E. Kennedy.

The Income and Expenditure Sheet for the past year, which had been audited by Mr H. B. Wheatley and Mr H. Smart, two of the Members, was presented on behalf of the Treasurer, and was read to the Meeting. The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Auditors.

The Director reported that at the next Meeting, instead of Dr Nicholson's Paper on King John, the Scratch Night would be held, and that Mr Hales would speak in favour of an early date (before 1601) for the Play of Julius Cæsar; that Mr Simpson had promised a short Paper upon 'Evening Mass'; and that Dr Nicholson would also contribute other short papers.

Mr H. C. Hart having been unable to finish his promised Paper for this evening (owing to his appointment as Botanist to the Arctic Expedition), a Paper was read by Mr Rd. Simpson upon the Comedies

of Mucedorus and Faire Em.

Mr Simpson showed that *Mucedorus* had been attributed to Shakspere on the strength of additions made for a representation at Court some time between 1605 and 1610, when Shakspere was head of the King's players. He showed that *Faire Em* belonged to a series of plays reflecting upon Greene and Peele, all of which were attributed to Shakspere long before the discovery of the allusion to him in the *Groatsworth of Wit* revealed the antagonism between the men. He showed that Greene had attacked *Faire Em* and its author virulently in 1591, and that the play referred to dramatic and literary incidents; that "William the Conqueror" was meant for William Kemp, and "Manville," another of the characters, for Greene. The play belonged to Lord Strange's players, and contained local allusions hardly intelligible out of Lancashire.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Simpson.

On the Committee asking Mr Simpson to print his Paper in the Society's Transactions, he stated that he would rather defer doing so until he could prepare a general account of the pseudo-Shaksperian Plays which he had in contemplation.

The following Papers (sent at very short notice in response to

requests from the Director) were also read:

2. A letter to the Director 'On a New Metrical Test (that of the mid-line end of speeches) for ascertaining the Chronology of Shakspere's Plays,' by Prof. J. K. Ingram, LL.D. This test was the "speech-ending" one, a development of the unstopt-line test. In early Plays, nearly all the speeches end with the end of a line; in the Two Gentlemen of Verona 236 speeches do so; while in the late plays very few do; in the Tempest only 16. Professor Ingram has found this test hold good for several early and late plays, and he proposes to try all the plays with it.

3. Notes on German Shakspere Literature,' by Prof. E. Dowden, LL.D. Professor Dowden first urged on the Society the duty of preparing a Hand-book of Shakspere Literature, by which a student, even in the wilds of a Godless Irish College, might know what had

been written on any play or point he wished to study; and then an Annual Report, like that of the German Shakspere Society, on all the Shaksperian material of the past year. The Professor then sketched in a pleasing and vivid way the works of German Shakspere writers which he had lately read: those of Genée, Albert Cohn, Franz Horn, Professor Kobersteen, Lemcke; Ulrici, Karl Elze, and Hertzberg (highly praised); Delius (first and alone in his line), Bodenstedt, Flathe (the smasher of all other critics, the adorer of himself), Hebler, Vischer, Benno Tschischwitz (with his interesting Hamlet parallels from Giordano Bruno), Rötscher, Otto Ludwig (with admirable points), Eduard Vehse, H. von Friesen, Moriz Carriere (grouping Shakspere with Michael Angelo, Holbein, &c.), Rümelin (the iconoclast), Gervinus the famous, Kreyssig (the German nearest to the English school), &c.

A vote of thanks was passed to Prof. Dowden, and to the Director as reader of this and the preceding paper. On behalf of the Committee Mr Furnivall stated that Prof. Dowden would be asked to pre-

pare his Paper for publication in the Transactions 1.

4. Extracts from a Lecture 'On Characteristics of Ben Jonson,' by E. H. Pickersgill, Esq. Mr E. H. Pickersgill contrasted Ben Jonson's treatment of character with Shakspere's: the one put qualities into clothes, the other held the mirror up to nature. Jonson's men were all folly in comedy, all crime in tragedy; Shakspere's rightly mixed Still, many of Jonson's characters were very striking; his plots were admirable, his lyrics delightful, his masks unequalled, his pictures of manners most valuable. Though far from Shakspere, Ben Jonson was second in the Elizabethan drama to him alone.

The thanks of the Meeting were given to Mr Pickersgill, as writer

and reader of this Paper.

Mr Simpson, Dr Nicholson, and the Director took part in the discussion upon the above Papers.

FOURTEENTH MEETING, Friday, March 12, 1875.

Tom Taylor, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following names of new Members were read:—

Rev. W. A. Harrison. Alfred Forman. J. M. Gordon. C. L. Hadfield. Wm Fitzgerald. Louis Blacker. C. H. Everard. Rivington & Co. Richard Johnson. Magdalen College, Oxford.

The Director announced that Mr Halliwell was endeavouring to arrange for a search being made in the house inhabited by Lady Barnard, Shakspere's granddaughter, as a last chance of any papers belonging to Shakspere being discovered.

A recast of it will probably appear in The Quarterly Review.

The Director also stated that at the Next Meeting Mr Spedding's Paper on the "First Quarto and Folio Edition of Richard III" would be read instead of the Paper by Prof. Leo, previously announced, and that Mr Spedding's Paper would, for convenience, be printed in advance, so as to be in the hands of the Members while being read.

A Paper in favour of an early date (not later than 1601) for the Play of *Julius Cæsur* was read by Mr J. W. Hales, and the thanks

of the Meeting were voted to Mr Hales for this Paper.

In the Discussion thereon the following Members took part, viz.: Messrs Tom Taylor, Furnivall, Simpson, and Dr Nicholson.

Papers were then read as under:

By Mr Simpson—On Shakspere's correct use of the expression "Evening Mass" in *Romeo and Juliet*. (Printed below, p. 148.)

By Dr B. Nicholson—Shewing that the word "sea" in the phrase "Sea of troubles" (in *Hamlet*) was used literally and not as a metaphor.

The thanks of the Members were given to Mr Simpson and Dr Nicholson for their Papers.

FIFTEENTH MEETING, Friday, April 9, 1875.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The Hon. Sec. reported that the following new Members had joined the Society since the last Meeting:—

C. W. Frederickson.

Mrs Peter Bayne.

Perceval Clark.

Rev. J. W. Ebsworth.

H. P. Bowie.

Miss M. Mayo.

Mrs R. Leycester.

W. L. Newman.

C. F. Hancock, Junr.

A Paper was read by Miss L. T. Smith pointing out that the "pound of flesh" incident (in the Merchant of Venice) was to be found in the 13th century English version of the "Cursor Mundi," and tracing the story through other parts of early literature. (Printed below, p. 181.)

The thanks of the Meeting were given to Miss Smith for her

Paper

A Paper by Professor Delius, V.P., 'On the Quarto and Folio of

King Lear,' was taken as read. (Printed below, p. 125.)

Mr James Spedding's paper 'On the Corrected Edition of Richard III' (printed below, p. 1), was read by Mr Furnivall. Mr Spedding's object was to establish, as against the editors of the Cambridge Shakspere, that the version of the play in the first Folio is the genuine

work of Shakspere. Its defects, he urged, are due either to the carelessness of printers, or to their difficulty in reading a manuscript which had undergone many corrections. The other differences between the Folio and Quarto are such as may reasonably be attributed to a revision by Shakspere himself, and it is needless to suppose the existence of a transcriber "who worked in the spirit, though not with the audacity, of Colley Cibber."

Mr Matthew gave an account of a paper on the same subject in the Year-book of the German Shakspere Society, by Professor Delius, who was present at the meeting. Professor Delius, while recognising the Folio as the genuine text, does not believe that it was ever revised. He looks upon it as representing (printer's errors apart) the original text of Shakspere. The first Quarto, he thinks, was printed from an imperfect copy, obtained by underhand means, and dressed up for

publication by some unknown person.

The thanks of the Members were voted to Mr Spedding, Mr Furnivall, and to Professor Delius and Mr Matthew respectively. In the Discussion on the Paper, Dr Nicholson gave some instances from the Quartos of *Henry V* of the manner in which texts were mutilated in their passage through the press. He did not, like Professor Delius, think it improbable that Shakspere should have revised and altered his work.

After some remarks by Mr Pickersgill, who dwelt strongly on the faulty readings of the Folio as compared with those of the Quarto, Mr Aldis Wright said that the choice between the different texts of Richard III was a difficult matter. He read a part of the preface to the play in the Cambridge edition to show that the editors had not spoken with over much confidence. He could not believe that Shakspere had gone through his work; altering a word here and a letter there, as Mr Spedding represented him; he was quite sure that a large majority of the Quarto readings were preferable to those of the Folio, and were therefore Shakspere's. (Mr Pickersgill's argument, expanded, is printed below, p. 77—122.)

SIXTEENTH MEETING, Friday, May 14, 1875.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read.

The Chairman reported that Mr J. O. Halliwell had presented to the Society 600 copies of an Essay by Mr A. H. Paget, entitled 'Shakespeare's Plays: a chapter of Stage History,' and that the thanks of the Society had been expressed to Mr Halliwell.

The Director also stated that on a recent visit to Dublin he had been much gratified at the wide-spread interest in Shakspere work

which he had seen and heard of there.

The following list of New Members was read:-

Chas. M. Roupell.
Rev. J. Kirkman.
Columbia College.
Wesleyan University, Middleton, Connecticut.
Thos. Chorlton.

Wm. Wilkins.
Chas. Hargrove.
J. B. Harrison.
G. W. Curtis.
Walter Derham.
Miss Connolly.

The first Paper this evening was on 'The Date of King John,' by Dr Brinsley Nicholson. The thanks of the meeting were voted to Dr Nicholson as writer and reader of this Paper. Messrs Furnivall, Simpson, and Pickersgill took part in the Discussion which followed.

The second Paper was "On the Old Hamlet," by Richard Simpson, Esq. The thanks of the Members were given to him. Questions raised in Mr Simpson's Paper were discussed by Mr Furnivall and Dr Nicholson.

Adjourned.

SEVENTEENTH MEETING, Friday, June 11, 1875.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Hon. Sec. reported that Mr F. Chance and Miss L. B. Cour-

tenay had joined the Society since last Meeting.

A paper was read by Mr Henry B. Wheatley, "On the Originals of Shakspere's Plots," in which he made an attempt to arrange the materials collected by a long succession of laborious commentators so as to cause them to throw light upon the poet's mode of work. The paper was divided into three parts. The first part consisted of an account of the various books Shakspere used, and was, in fact, a catalogue of his supposed library, which must have consisted of histories, poems, plays, novels, translations of classics, travels, &c., all of which were placed under contribution in various degrees, sometimes a bright passage only being transferred from a dull book. In the second part the plays dealt with were divided into classes, and the points of likeness or dissimilarity were discussed. It was stated that the plots of only five of the plays are still untraced, but that those of some others The third part was a résumé of what had gone before, are not certain. more particularly in regard to the dramatis personæ; and it was shown that Shakspere had some authority, however slight, for his serious characters, but that nearly all his comic ones were entirely the emanation of his own brain. The prototype of Isabella in Measure for Measure is Cassandra in Whetstone's Promos and Cassandra; the germ of Portia in the Merchant of Venice is to be found in the Widow of Belmont in the Italian novel Il Pecorone, and Juliet was a character before Shakspere made her what she is; but no one has yet discovered any hint of Falstaff, Mercutio, Gratiano, Benedick, or

the host of other brilliant beings that people Shakspere's comedies. In the discussion, Mr Furnivall, Mr R. Simpson, Mr Hales, Miss L. Toulmin Smith, and Mr E. H. Pickersgill took part.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Wheatley.

THIRD SESSION.

EIGHTEENTH MEETING, Friday, October 8, 1875.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

The Director congratulated the Meeting on the opening of the 3rd Session of the Society and on the very satisfactory state of the list of members; who now numbered over 500, although the Society

had been only two years in existence.

He also referred to the plan which the Committee had adopted of giving copies of the Society's Publications to Public Schools as Prizes for the study of Shakspere, and read part of a letter (taken from among several to the same effect) speaking of the encouraging effect which these prizes had had.

The Director also stated that Part 1 of the "Originals and Analogues" Series of the Publications was now ready for issue to

Members.

The following list of new Members was read:—

W. Sowter. Christiania Library. J. A. Jarman. J. Goodison. Gerold & Co. F. Morshead. Stecher & Wolff. C. B. Grant. Dr A. Blair. E. Lammer. Dr R. Cartwright. Rev. S. A. Brooke. R. A. Allison. Rev. C. H. Hawkins. H. A. Bright. J. Williams. W. E. Mullins. St John's College, Baltimore. New University Club. F. W. Cornish.

The first paper, "Notes on Mr Daniel's Theory of the Relation of the first and second Quartos of Romeo and Juliet," by James Spedding, Esq., Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was read by Mr F. D. Matthew, as was also Mr Daniel's answer to Mr Spedding. Mr Spedding contended that the first Quarto was a substantially correct and perfect representation of the play as performed by the Lord Hundson's servants in 1596-7, and that it was Shakspere's first sketch of his play, while the second Quarto was that play corrected, augmented, and amended by Shakspere at least after two years' further practice of his art, and development of his genius. Mr Spedding argued that the passages expanded in the second Quarto existed in

germ in the first, and made good sense, without the need of supposing them to be shortened representatives of the larger Q2. Mr Daniel, on the other hand, supported his old argument that QI was a curtailed and often perverted version of Q2, not only by the opinion of prior editors and his former instances, but by showing that many of the enlargements in Q2 were drawn from Arthur Brooke's Romeus—the acknowledged source of the play—and were evidently taken thence at the same time as the passages used in Qr. But Mr Daniel confessed that he could not account for the beautiful passages in Q1, p. 82 of the New Shakspere Society's Parallel Texts, about waking eyes attending the frolic day, &c. An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr Furnivall, Dr Nicholson, Dr Abbott, Mr Simpson, Mr A. J. Ellis, and Mr Pickersgill took part, and in which the balance of opinion was much on the side of Mr Daniel's view. Furnivall and Dr Nicholson both also argued in favour of the view advanced elsewhere by Mr Daniel, that the first Quarto contained on p. 148 of the Parallel Texts, passages not written by Shakspere ("accurst, unhappy, miserable man," &c.), but belonging to an older play.

The second paper was by Dr Wickham Legg on the *Elflocks* in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 80 (printed below, p. 191). Dr Legg contended that the view of all the critics but Nares and Mr Daniel was right, that the "foul sluttish locks" were the *plica Polonica*; and that the *untanglement of these was held so inauspicious that Polish peasants would die almost sooner than consent to it. It was, therefore, clear that the reading of the Quartos and first Folio "untangled" was right, and ought not to have been changed to "entangled" by*

Mr Daniel.

NINETEENTH MEETING, Friday, November 12, 1875.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

THE following Members were announced as having joined the Society since the last report:—

B. R. Allen.

Granby Burke.
T. A. Spalding.
F. E. Thompson.

rg. T. B. Gilmore. Rt. Hon. N. W

J. T. Danson.
Winchester College Shakspere

Rt. Hon. N. W. Massey, M.P. Rt. Hon. Spencer H. Walpole, M.P.

Society (also an affiliated N. S. Cooley. Society).

The Director stated that H. R. H. Prince Leopold had offered 50 copies of the Parallel Text Edition of *Romeo and Juliet* for presentation to such of the chief Free Libraries and Mechanics' Institutes as desired to have a copy.

Mr Richard Simpson read selections from a long paper on 'The Growth of Hamlet,' the object of which was to trace the development of the drama from its germ in Belleforest's History of Hamlet, through the play of 1589-of which we have an outline in the German translation published by Cohn—and the revival of 1598 or 1599, represented by the Quarto of 1603, to its full stature in the play of 1603, represented by the Quarto of 1604 and the Folio of 1623. The chief point touched upon was the allusions to the Hamlets of 1589 and 1598 to be found in contemporary literature. Several were produced referring to the former, but many more relating to the latter, especially from Marston, the second part of whose Antonio and Mellida is little more than a parody of the plot, the incidents, and the sentiments of the Hamlet of the Quarto of 1603. Mr Simpson requested the members of the Society to give him any allusions to the story or the poetry of Hamlet which they might find in their reading.

A second point was the probable authorship of the earlier Ham-On this question only the external evidence was read, which, Mr Simpson contended, rendered it probable that Shakspere was the writer of the drama of 1589. In reply to Mr Furnivall, who in the discussion introduced some considerations from the alterations in the plot to controvert this asserted probability, Mr Simpson gave a rough outline of some of the internal evidence, derived from the construction of the plot of the first drama out of the history, by which he endeavoured to strengthen his conclusion. He deprecated any positive conclusion being drawn from the mere fragments of the argument which he had been able to bring forward that evening. Dr R. Cartwright then read a short paper on 'The Early Dates of Pericles and Timon,' deduced from differences in the first and second Quartos of His inferences were disputed by Mr Furnivall and Mr A. Hamlet.

J. Ellis.

TWENTIETH MEETING, Friday, December 10, 1875.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Director announced that the following Members had joined the Society since last Meeting:—

Tom Taylor.
D. Bikelas.

Sydney Williams.
John Thirlwall University.

Dr Ingleby then gave the interpretation that Mr E. A. Brae, of Guernsey, and himself, put on the Dedication to Shakspere's Sonnets, which was this:—

1. A Dedication

"To the onlie Begetter (sole Author) of these Sonnets, Mr W. H. [W. S. (Brae), or W. S. H. (Ingleby)].

2. An Epistle Dedicatory

"All happinesse [on earth] & that Eternitie promised" [in

heaven].

"By [for or to] our everliving Poet [=W. Shakspere] Wisheth the well-wishing Adventurer [Thomas Thorpe] in setting forth [=publishing]." T. T. [Thomas Thorpe.]

This reading was unhesitatingly rejected by Mr Furnivall, Dr

Nicholson, Mr Matthew, and other speakers.

Dr Ingleby then discussed Shakspere's use of the verb season, showing that the poet used it in five distinct senses. Dr I. believed that two "seasons" from two different roots were now confounded in one.

Mr Furnivall then read a Paper on the play of Edward III. He gave a short sketch of the sources of the fine scene between the King and the Countess of Salisbury, namely, Froissart's anecdote, and the expansion of it as seen in Bandello's Novel, and Painter's translation of Boiaistueau, which ends with making the Countess Edward's Queen. But from the Italian's additions of the Secretary confidant, the unwilling pandering of the Countess's Father, and the more willing of her Mother's, with the Countess offering to stab herself with a knife or let the King kill her with his sword,—the English Dramatist had borrowed largely. After quoting Joshua Barnes's refutation of the story, and dwelling on the strong external evidence against Shakspere's authorship of Act II. of the Play, Mr Furnivall said that though he greatly desired to accept Mr Tennyson's judgment that the act was Shakspere's, and thus add the noble figure of the Countess to Shakspere's women, he could not convince himself that the Act was Shakspere's work, though it was certainly worthy of him in his younger days. (See p. c-cii of Mr Furnivall's Introduction to the Leopold Shakspere, Cassells, 1877.)

TWENTY-FIRST MEETING, Friday, January 14, 1876.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

THE Members reported to have joined since the 10th ult. were,

Thos Beggs and L. E. Shaw.

The first Paper for this evening was read by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., being "Gruach: Lady Macbeth," by Lady Charlemont (printed below, p. 194), and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to the writer and to Mr Furnivall, who afterwards contested the view taken in the Paper.

Mr W. J. Craig then read a Paper consisting of rough Notes on Cymbeline, intended to show that Cymbeline and the Winter's Tale

belongd to the same period of Shakspere's work.

The thanks of the Members were given to Mr Craig. Mr Ellis, Dr Todhunter, and Mr Furnivall took part in the discussion of Mr Craig's views.

TWENTY-SECOND MEETING, Friday, February 11, 1876.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Members reported to have joined the Society since January 14, were the Countess of Charlemont, the Rev. W. E. Buckley, and H. S. Johnson, and the Watkinson Library.

The Treasurer's Cash Account for 1875, as audited by Messrs A. J. Abbott and H. Smart, was read, and the thanks of the Meeting

were voted to the Auditors for their services.

The Cash Account showed that the past year's Subscriptions (less Agent's commission) amounted to £577 19s.; that the Society's expenditure in 1875 was £571 5s.; and that the balance carried to 1876

was £46 10s. 9d.

Mr Furnivall announced that the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Derby, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, following the example of H. R. H. Prince Leopold, had promised to pay the cost of such Tract on the Social Condition of England during Shakspere's time as Mr Furnivall might chose. Mr Furnivall had accordingly chosen William Stafford's Statement and Discussion of the Social Grievances of England in 1581, entitled, "A Compendious or briefe Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen in these our dayes: which although they are in some part vaine & friuolous, yet they are all by way of dialogues thoroughly debated & discussed," and had sent it to the Printer with directions that it should be set up at once.

Mr Furnivall proposed that the vote of thanks to Lord Derby for his gift should be put off till the copies of the Tract were issued, as

in the case of Prince Leopold's gift.

Dr Todhunter read a paper on "Hamlet and Ophelia." He observed that there is more truth than at first appears in Mr Ruskin's assertion that Ophelia's weakness is the cause of Hamlet's failure—this at least plays an important part in the tragedy of his character. All through, he just fails to become master of circumstances; standing like a man who tumbles over a precipice, and whom a single twig. caught at the right moment might save. As to the question of his madness, Dr Todhunter pronounced him not mad in the popular sense. The equilibrium of his mind is, however, seriously disturbed, and there are moments in which he transgresses the boundaries of sanity. There is little or no deliberate feigning of madness in his conduct. In the terrible mental excitement which follows the advent of the ghost, Hamlet seeks relief in the sympathy of Ophelia; but he is denied access to her, and his letters are repelled. At length he makes a desperate effort to bring himself en rapport with her, and the silent interview takes place which she describes to her father (Act ii. Sc. The perfect silence of the interview is noteworthy. It is not

the silence of sympathy, but the inarticulate silence of two unsympathetic natures. These lovers stretch their hands over a gulf, yearning for love yet unable to love one another; unable to touch each other, much less to embrace.

In Act ii. Sc. 2 Ophelia becomes the mere tool of the king and Polonius, to "pluck out the heart" of Hamlet's "mystery," the weakness of her character being thus palpably revealed. Her character is a frail and passive one. She is without capacity for passion or for development, and is incapable of intelligent sympathy. She does not, indeed, intentionally betray her lover, she only fails him, innocently and unconsciously.

Hamlet has now pronounced sentence of divorce against Ophelia, and takes Horatio to his heart instead. Love has proved a delusion, but friendship still remains. The cruel insults to Ophelia during the play-scene are a part of his frenzied cynicism with regard to women. The death of Polonius is caused by an altogether irrational and instinctive act, which closely resembles that of an ordinary madman;

and in it Hamlet steps across the threshold of sanity.

In conclusion, Dr Todhunter gave it as his opinion that the hard cynicism displayed by Hamlet respecting the deaths of Polonius, Rosencranz, and Guildenstern, his foolish trust in a false Providence, and the cunning methods of action he adopts, are all evidence of the breakdown of a noble mind.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Dr Todhunter for his

Paper.

In the Discussion that followed, Mr Furnivall and Mr Matthew joined, and Dr Todhunter replied.

TWENTY-THIRD MEETING, Friday, March 10, 1876.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following new Members were announced: J. F. Rotton, the Rev. T. J. Walton, B. Septimus Brigg, W. H. Wilson, and F. Wedmore.

Messrs Joseph Bright, Frank Marshall, and F. Wedmore were

reported to have been elected Members of Committee.

The Director announced that Mrs Bidder would give £10 to defray the cost of some small reprint to add to the series illustrating the social condition of England in Shakspere's time. He also stated that he hoped to be able to arrange with the Rev. A. B. Grosart for additional tracts of this sort at slight cost.

The Director further announced that Mr Peter Bayne would read

a Paper next Session on the Character of Brutus.

The death of Colonel Cunningham having deprived the Society of the Paper intended for this evening, a Paper was read by the Director

¹ Taken instead, for part of Prof. Spalding's Letter.

on "The Links between Shakspere's Early Plays and the backward

and forward reach of his late Middle-time Comedies."

Taking the chronological order of the plays as given in his Introduction to Gervinus's Commentaries, Mr Furnivall showed that each play threw out tendrils round its predecessor and successor, so that up. at least, till Measure for Measure, the last play he dealt with, you have a series of links of subject, treatment, tone, expression, joining all the plays into one chain. He said that this method showed if a work had been wrongly placed, and brought it into its true place. He had wrongly put Venus and Adonis first in Shakspere's works, and had now had to move it down to Romeo and Juliet and Lucrece, for reasons which he gave. In treating the Middle-time Comedies, he showed that they reacht back to the early ones, and that in the succession he had assigned to them, while these comedies stretched a hand forward also to the dramas of the fourth period. He also contended that Shakspere's sonnets and plays were mutually interpretative, specially on the point of friendship, as well between men as women 1.

The thanks of the Members were voted to Mr Furnivall.

Mr Ellis, Mr Hetherington, Mr Matthew, Mr Bayne and Dr Nicholson gave their views upon the above Paper.

TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING, Friday, April 28, 1876.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE following new Members were reported to have joined the Society since the last Meeting :-

> Wm. Ridgeway. Eugene Casserley. Dr Robt Carruthers. Thos. Baines.

Dr C. H. Higgins. Stevens and Haynes. A. H. Littleton. The Hon, Roden Noel.

The Director announced the loss which had befallen the Society in the death of Mr Richard Simpson, a member of the Committee, and spoke warmly of Mr Simpson's amiability and kindliness, and of the value of the Papers he had contributed to the Society's Transactions.

The following resolution was then unanimously passed, viz.:-That this Meeting of the New Shakspere Society desires to express to Mrs Richard Simpson its condolence with her in the great bereavement which she has recently sustained. And this Meeting at the same time wishes to record its own sense of the great loss suffered by the Society and by the cause of Shakspere learning, in the death of one of the Society's earliest and most valued workers.

¹ This Paper is incorporated in Mr Furnivall's Introduction to the Leopold Shakspere, 1877.

Professor Delius having been unable to send by to-night his promised Paper on the Epic Elements in Shakspere's Plays, Mr F. Marshall read the first portion of a Paper he had prepared on the character of *Othello* and some of its resemblances to that of *Hamlet*. He called special attention to the overlooked point of the effect of Othello's epileptic fit on his mental condition.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Marshall for this

Paper.

The Director, Mr P. Bayne, Dr Cartwright, and Mr J. Knight

spoke on Mr Marshall's Paper.

The Director reported that Dr Nicholson's proposed Paper on the Sonnets would have to be replaced by one of Dr N.'s on the approximate date of Othello, by a Paper by Mr Foggo on Banquo, and by a Paper by Dr Nicholson on the borrowings from Venus and Adonis and Ben Jonson, in Baron's Pocula Castalia.

TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING, Friday, May 12, 1876.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., in the Chair.

Mrs E. Marx, Mr H. Burdach, and Mr N. D. Chubb were reported to have become Members since the last Meeting.

Read, a letter from Mrs Richard Simpson, in acknowledgment of

the vote of sympathy with her passed on the 28th ult.

With reference to Shakspere work in hand by Mr Simpson at his death, the Director stated that he had ascertained with much satisfaction that Mr Simpson had finished all the MS. for his two volumes of *The School of Shakspere*, and that the work was to be published in October next (delayed till March, 1877).

The Director also reported that Norden's Map of London, to be issued to Members in a few months in Harrison's England, Part I,

was at last in hand.

The first Paper for this evening was 'On the approximate date of Othello, as deduced from Marston's Parasitaster or Fawne,' by Dr B. Nicholson.

The thanks of the Meeting were given to Dr Nicholson as reader and author of this Paper; and Mr Furnivall, Dr Cartwright, and Mr Littledale expressed their views thereon.

A second Paper was read by Dr Nicholson 'On the Borrowings from *Venus and Adonis*, and from Ben Jonson in Baron's *Pocula Custalia*,' 1640, and thanks were duly voted to Dr Nicholson.

Mr Algernon Foggo next read a Paper 'On the Character of Banquo' (printed below, p. 200), and the thanks of the Society were presented to Mr Foggo.

In the Discussion which followed, the following Members spoke: Mr Furnivall, Mr Bayne, and Dr Nicholson.

TWENTY-SIXTH MEETING, Friday, June 9, 1876.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary reported that the following new Members had joined the Society since the last Meeting:

W. A. B. Coolidge, Captain Herbert Everitt, Miss Lizzie Morris,

Mrs M. S. Peto, R. W. Coe.

The Paper for this evening (printed below, p. 314) was 'On the Political Element in Massinger,' by S. R. Gardiner, Esq., by whom it was also read.

The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously given to Mr Gar-

diner for his Paper.

Mr Furnivall, Mr Hales, Mr P. Bayne, Mr F. Wedmore, took part

in the Discussion which followed.

Before the Meeting separated for the recess, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Council of University College for the use of the Room in which the Meetings of the Society are held.

FOURTH SESSION.

TWENTY-SEVENTH MEETING, Friday, October 13, 1876.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The Director read a letter from Mr Richard Grant White explaining that, on account of absence in the country, he was quite unable to attend this evening, as had been expected.

The Hon. Sec. read the following list of Members who had

joined the Society since the 9th June last :-

Chas. C. Seton.
Henry Ripley.
Henry Brown.
English Seminar: Royal Univ. Lib., Breslau.

Miss Emily Callwell.
Miss Annie Callwell.
Regd. Hanson.

This being the 1st evening of the 4th Session of the Society, the Director reviewed the work which had thus far been done. He further mentioned that, for the 5th or "Contemporary Drama" Series of Publications, *Edward III* would be edited by Mr Walter D. Stone and himself.

Mr Furnivall also referred, with regret, to the seriously failing health of Dr Nicholson, one of the Society's most accomplished Editors, and to the fact that Mr P. A. Daniel's valuable services would also shortly be lost to the Society owing to his intended emi-

gration to Australia.

The Director further announced with much regret the retirement of Mr Wm Payne from the office of Treasurer, owing to his failing health and his proposed removal from London, and stated that Mr H. Courthope Bowen, the Head Master of the Grocers' Company's Schools, Hackney Downs, had consented to be Treasurer.

The Paper for this evening,—"On the 2nd and 3rd Parts of Henry VI, and their originals, The Contention and True Tragedy," by Miss Jane Lee,—was then read by the Director, and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to Miss Lee and to Mr Furnivall respectively.

The Director read remarks by Mr Grant White written in anticipation of the views of Miss Lee; and Mr Ellis, Mr Bayne, Mr Furnivall, and Dr Cartwright spoke upon points raised in the Paper.

TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING, Friday, Nov. 10, 1876.

F. D. Matthew, Esq., in the Chair.

The following additional Members since Oct. 13 were announced: F. J. Evans, The Rev. H. O. Coxe, Professor Johnson, H. F. Walters, and Geo. Andrews.

The Director reported at this Meeting the gifts of Texts, &c., which have recently been made to the Society, and the thanks of the Members were unanimously voted to—

Rich. Johnson, Esq., for his gift of Part 1 (and Part 2 to follow) of the Revised Edition of the Two Noble Kinsmen.

The Earl of Derby, for Stafford.

Mrs Bidder, "10 0 towards cost of Harold Littledale, Esq., "10 0 Spalding's "Letter."

The Rev. A. Stopford Brooke, 4 4 Spalding's "Letter."

F. W. Cosens, Esq., Miss Phipson, for the "Tell Troth" volume.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq.,

 Mr Furnivall also reported as follows with regard to Publications, &c., of the Society :—

That owing to the failure of Dr Nicholson's health, the Parallel Texts of *Henry V*, which he was to have edited, would now be edited by Mr P. A. Daniel; who had most kindly agreed to put off his journey to Australia till he had finished this edition. Mr Daniel had also taken up the edition of the Doubtful Plays for G. Bell and Sons, which Dr Nicholson had been obliged to throw up.

That next year's issue of books would, if funds should allow, consist of (in addition to 'Harrison,' Part 1) a thin part (2) of 'Harrison' with a view of the North side of Cheapside in 1638 now in preparation; 'Stubbes,' Part II; and Henry V, Parallel Texts.

That the Reprint of the late Professor Spalding's Letter on the Two Noble Kinsmen and the Revised Edition of the Two Noble Kinsmen, which are about to be issued to Members (after unforeseen delay), would be the last publications the Committee

would be able to issue for 1876.

That Dr Nicholson's intended Paper for the 8th of next Month would be replaced by—I. A Paper by Mr Henry B. Wheatley, "On Ben Jonson's Every Man in his Humour." II. A Paper by Frank Marshall, Esq.; and III. A Note by E. G. Dogget, Esq., on the Expression "By holy" in the "Passionate

Pilgrim."

That as an Appendix to the Transactions, 1875-6, would be issued in a condensed form the late Rev. J. L. Halpin's tract on the Dramatic Unities of Shakspere, and Professor Wilson's papers which called it forth. These treated most interestingly of Shakspere's two times in his plays,—one seemingly long, as in Antonio's three Months' Bond in the 'Merchant,' whereas the action of the play took up, in fact, only two days.

The Director also asked for a Volunteer to translate, for the Transactions, the 2nd part of Prof. Delius's Paper on the Narrative Element in Shakspere's Plays, and Miss Eleanor Marx

kindly undertook to make the translation.

The Director further stated that Prof. Corson intended to come over from the United States to read his promised Paper before the Society in June next.

The Paper for this evening-"The character of Hamlet not entitled to the admiration often bestowed upon it"-was by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., by whom it was also read. Mr Furnivall believed that. as most folk got their idea of Satan from Milton and then said it was from the Bible, so many made their own ideal of Hamlet, and then declared it was Shakspere's, though there was no foundation whatever for it in Shakspere's text. Folk pitied Hamlet, then they loved him, then they glorified him, and turned a shirker of duty, a do-nothing, a putter-forward of specious subterfuges, into a Christian warrior and hero. Nothing was too good for him in the eyes of Werder and several English critics. Mr Furnivall followed Hamlet somewhat pitilessly through his whole career, from his mooning and spooning, instead of watching and acting, after his father's death; through his weakness after weakness, and his subterfuge-full excuses for them, in staying at Court, in vowing that he would "sweep to his revenge," and then making notes on his tablets, saying he would go pray, dawdling, turn-

ing stage-manager, brutally jeering at Ophelia, quoting ballads and calling for a tune—like an overgrown schoolboy when his trick has succeeded—instead of killing the king at the end of the play; then mouthing rant about drinking hot blood, &c., and, of course, shirking his duty again directly after; then pretending that Heaven had made him stab Polonius, over whose corpse his brutal jeers must come again; still dawdling when he returned to Denmark, straying into graveyards, engaging in fencing-matches—anything to shirk his duty; at last letting Claudius's own plot, not his, work out the king's destruction, Hamlet at last stabbing him, not because he had murdered his brother, but because (1) he had poisoned Hamlet himself; (2) because he was "incestuous, murderous," therefore "follow my mother." Mr Furnivall contended that whatever virtues Hamlet had, he basely and persistently shirked his duty, which was just a bore to him, and made mean subterfuges to excuse himself. Even at last, it was not as a duty to his father that he killed his uncle; and his friend, Horatio, put forth no such pretence in his behalf. He spoke

> "Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters . . And, in this upshot, purposes mistook Fall'n on the inventors' heads."

Yet we all pity, nay like Hamlet. This is because he typifies each one of us. Weak, shirkers of duty, we all are: but in so far as we are so, we are not to be admired; we are to be despised. The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously voted to Mr Furnivall.

Messrs Knight, Pickersgill, Bayne, Matthew, Todhunter and

Furnivall took part in the discussion which arose; some written re-

marks were also read by Mrs Bayne.

The Director further read a letter from Mr H. H. Furness, of Philadelphia, stating that he agreed in condemning the vacillation of Hamlet.

TWENTY-NINTH MEETING, Friday, December 8, 1876.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Director announced that Dr Ingleby had kindly offered to present to the Society the 2nd Edition of his "Centurie of Prayse," an offer which had at once been gratefully accepted in the name of the Members.

Mr H. F. B. Wheatley read "Notes on Ben Jonson's Every Man in his Humour." Mr Wheatley gave an account of the alterations made in the Quarto of the play by the second edition in the Folio. He showed that these changes were only in names, scenes, and lines -though with large and judicious cuttings-out in the last act-but did not affect the scheme and motives of the play. He contended

that the first Quarto was not surreptitious, but plainly genuine. Mr Furnivall, recurring to the point of the date of the Prologue, which Dr B. Nicholson had originally intended to treat at the meeting, argued that the only lines which could allude to Shakspere were the "York and Lancaster's long jars" (Henry VI), and "chorus wafts you o'er the seas" (Henry V): he did not believe in the "storm" and "monsters" referring to The Tempest. As the play was produced in 1598, and Henry V not till 1599, either the Prologue was written after the first cast of the play, or it did not allude to Henry V. He could not allow that the Prologue, if after 1598, must have mentioned the revision of the play.

The thanks of the Meeting were given to Mr Wheatley.

Mr Doggett then proposed to read "by holy" in 1. 343 of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, as an exclamation, "by the Holy," like Foxe's "by roode" for "by the roode." Mr Furnivall proposed to read 1. 302, "As well as Fancy's partial might," taking "might" as a substantive.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Doggett and Mr

Furnivall for their respective suggestions.

Mr Wheatley spoke upon the emendations proposed.

In place of an intended Paper by Mr Marshall, Miss Marx then read a translation which she had made of the 2nd part of a Paper by Prof. Delius on 'Shakspere's use of Narrative in his Plays' in continuation of that already printed in the Society's Transactions, 1875-6, Part 1. The Paper dealt with the English Historical and the Roman Plays, and showed how the poet's skill in employing the narrative element in his dramas improved as he advanced from his first period to his third.

Thanks were voted to Prof. Delius and Miss Marx, and the Director mentioned that Prof. Delius had been much gratified by the able way in which his Paper had been rendered into English. He also stated that this Paper would follow Part 1 on the same subject in the printed Transactions. (See p. 332 below.)

The speakers upon the above Paper were Mr Furnivall and Mr F.

D. Matthew.

The Members who have joined the Society during the past month were reported to be as under:—

J. T. La Brooy. Stephen Austin. John Barnett. Walter J. Marshall. Queen's College, Cork. S. D. Law. Rev. M. Creighton.
University Library, Halle.
Royal Institution.
Madame Van De Weyer.
Miss Catherine Drew.
Thos. Wm. Pickering.

Income and Expenditure of the New Shakepere Society for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1875.

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Income and Expenditure of the New Shakspere Society for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1876.

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January 8, 1877.

SAMUEL CLARK, Jun., Auditors.

ARTHUR G. SNELGROVE, HON. SEC.

I. ON THE CORRECTED EDITION OF RICHARD III.

BY JAMES SPEDDING, ESQ., M.A.,
HONORARY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

(Read at the 15th Meeting of the Society, April 9, 1875.)

THE attempts which have been made of late to determine the date of the composition of Shakspere's plays by the changes in metre and style give importance to the comparison between the two editions of The first Quarto, printed in 1597, is supposed to Richard III. contain the most correct representation of the play as it was first produced. The copy in the Folio of 1623 contains not only several considerable additions, but also a great number of minute corrections of metre and language, extending over the whole of the first four Acts and part of the fifth, and being evidently the result of a careful critical revision of the work. Such a body of corrections made by Shakspere in a work of his own should afford valuable evidence as to the changes of his taste as he advanced in his art, and help materially to date his compositions. But upon this point an important doubt has been lately raised. The editors of the Cambridge edition, to whom we owe the first complete collation of the several copies of Richard III., while they admit all the additions and many of the corrections to be of Shakspere's own hand, find in the rest so much evidence of inferior workmanship, that they have been driven to a bold conjecture. They think that a copy of the play, revised, corrected, and augmented by Shakspere himself, came after his death into the hands of some 'nameless transcriber,' who made other corrections according to his own taste, and "worked in the spirit, though not with the audacity, of Colley Cibber," (Preface, p. xvii.) The plan of their edition did not allow of their explaining in detail the grounds of their opinion, and therefore we must seek for them as N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1875.

we can among the various readings set forth in the foot-notes, where they are all, of course, to be found. But the question is very material; for, if the conjecture be correct, the whole value of this second edition, as far as the study of the progressive changes in Shakspere's style is concerned, is taken away; and not of this play only, but of all the others which were not printed till after his death. If Richard III. has undergone this kind of manipulation by some nameless transcriber or editor, so may The Comedy of Errors, the Two Gentlemen of Verona, King John, the three parts of Henry VI., As You Like It, Twelfth Night, All's Well, Measure for Measure, Julius Cæsar, Othello, Macbeth, Anthony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus, Timon of Athens, the Tempest, Cymbeline, the Winter's Tale, and Henry VIII. And our mechanical tests will be quite defeated. For, in counting the number of lines marked by some distinctive feature, we shall include an indefinite number whose features have been altered according to the taste, not of Shakspere, but of some transcriber or editor, of whom we know nothing but that he flourished before 1623. The order of priority indicated by rhyme, stopped line, double ending, alexandrine, short line, and the rest, may be changed altogether by the action of this unknown agent.

I call the conjecture bold, because it is not supported either by any tradition concerning this particular play or by any known custom among the contemporary editors of Shakspere; not one of whom, so far as we know, did more than hand the manuscript to the printer, and leave him to make of it what he could or would. Nevertheless, I hold the judgment of the Cambridge editors to be weighty enough to deserve careful investigation. For which purpose, not knowing the particular grounds on which it rests, I propose to begin by setting out all the differences between the first Quarto and the first Folio, in which the reading of the Folio seems to be open to any such definite objection as would justify us in saying that the alteration cannot have been made by Shakspere. I say 'definite objection,' because, as the question is, what changes his taste underwent as he advanced in the practice of his art, we must not begin by assuming that of two given readings he could not have liked best the one which we like least. When the cases thus selected are before us, I propose

to inquire further with regard to each whether the apparent fault of the reading in the Folio may not be accounted for by some ordinary error of the press, or by one of those accidents which, if not strictly speaking ordinary, are nevertheless very likely to happen, where a manuscript or printed book, brimful of corrections inserted between the lines or in the margin or on separate slips, is sent to the printer by way of copy, and left to its fate. These being set aside, the rest, which cannot be thus accounted for, will include all the evidence upon which the conjecture is based; and if they exhibit a considerable number of alterations which we cannot conceive to have been made by Shakspere and can conceive to have been made by a transcriber or editor of average intelligence (for we are not to forget that there are mistakes which the critic is as unlikely to make as the author himself), we must make up our minds to accept and encounter this new difficulty, and remember, while we number up and compare the distinctive peculiarities of his several plays, that many of their peculiarities (and we can never know how many) are perhaps not his at all, but some would-be improver's.

Before entering on the inquiry I shall only observe, by way of caution, that, as all the inserted passages, and a great many of the corrections, are admitted to be Shakspere's own, and as we have no external evidence of the intervention of any other corrector, the presumption in all cases (till special reason be shown to the contrary) must be that the altered reading was that which he preferred.

Ť.

ALTERATIONS IN THE FOLIO RICHARD III. WHICH CANNOT HAVE BEEN INTENDED BY SHAKSPERE.¹

1

I. i. 60. "These, as I learn, and such like toys as these

Have moved his Highness to commit me now."

Here the Folio reads Hath for Have.

¹ The figures refer to the act, scene, and line in the Cambridge edition, where the passage will be found. The quotations at head of each article are from the first Quarto.

I. i. 64. "My Lady Grey, his wife, Clarence, 'tis she That tempers him to this extremity."

Here the Folio reads :-

"That tempts him to this harsh extremity."

I think the reading of the Quarto is probably what Shakspere wrote; because tempers is more likely to have been corrupted into tempts than the reverse. I find that the third and fourth Quartos read:—

"That temps him to this extremity;"

the rest,

"That tempts him to this extremity."

The mistake may have arisen from the use in the MS. of the contracted form of per. 'Tempers,' written with the contraction, may have been mistaken by the transcriber or printer for 'tempts': the corrector reformed the metre by inserting 'harsh.' But this is a correction which the author himself might have made if he found the imperfect line in the copy which he was correcting, and did not remember what he had originally written. There is not much to choose between the two lines.

3.

I. i. 74. "Heard ye not what an humble suppliant Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?"

The Folio reads :-

"Lord Hastings was for her delivery?"

Here the Folio is evidently wrong. But the error may have arisen from an inter-linear correction misunderstood. The corrector, who evidently disliked lines of twelve syllables,—I do not call this an alexandrine,—meant, I think, to strike out 'to her.' But if the correction was not clearly made, or if the printer was careless, it might easily happen that 'her' was left instead of 'his.'

4.

I. ii. 19. "Than I can wish to adders, spiders, toads, Or any creeping venomed thing that lives." Here occurs an alteration which is hard to account for. The Folio reads:—

"Than I can wish to wolves, to spiders, toads, Or " &c.

It can hardly have been Shakspere's, as it stands. But can it have been a correcting editor's or transcriber's? It is difficult to imagine a motive for such a change; so difficult, whatever amount of stupidity we may credit the corrector with, that I am inclined rather to suspect that it has been an unfinished correction of the author's There seems to be nothing to induce another man to alter anything. But Shakspere himself on reading the passage over may perhaps have observed that, the particular act which calls forth the curse being one of open violence and not of secret treachery, there is an incongruity in wishing to the actor the fate of "creeping venomed things," and he may have meant to alter it by the substitution of wolves and noxious creatures of that kind. But as it will be seen hereafter that there are reasons for thinking that the correction of this play was never completed (and this is not one of the parts upon which most has been done), we may also suppose that the substitution of wolves for adders represents only the beginning of an intended alteration which was left unfinished,

If it be thought extravagant to suppose that Shakspere would not have completed the correction when he was about it, inquire of our poets what they do when they cannot quite make up their minds on the instant how to finish a passage which they have begun.

It is true indeed that, even upon this supposition, the occurrence of this alteration detracts considerably from the authority of the Folio; but our present question is, how far does it go to prove the intervention of some one who was not the author?

5.

I. ii. 39. "Unmannered dog, stand thou when I command."

The Folio reads standst for stand. An error undoubtedly, but not the error of a corrector.

6.

I. ii. 60. "Thy deed inhuman and unnatural Provokes this deluge most unnatural." 6 I. MR SPEDDING ON THE FOLIO CORRECTIONS OF RICHARD III.

The Folio reads deeds, without altering Provokes. An error again; but of somebody's carelessness. I suppose deed is the right reading.

7.

I. ii. 75. "Vouchsafe, divine perfection of a woman, Of these supposed evils to give me leave By circumstance but to acquit myself.

Anne. Vouchsafe, defused infection of a man, For these known evils but to give me leave By circumstance to curse thy cursed self."

Here the Folio changes evils in the second line to crimes, of a man to of man in the fourth, and For to Of in the fifth

The first correction was no doubt for the sake of the metre, and I suppose it was for the sake of the metre that evils was not changed to crimes in fifth line. It could not have been done without some further alteration; and as the necessary alteration could have involved no difficulty for the author, it must be admitted to be more like the work of a corrector who was not the author; although the corrector of this play, whoever he was, has shown himself quite capable of dealing with such a difficulty. The omission of the article in the fourth line was probably an oversight.

But why change For to Of, in the fifth line? All the Quartos have For: and to curse a man of an evil is not English. Did the corrector mean to change curse into accuse? In some respects it fits the place better. 'Accuse' answers better to 'acquit' in the speech before, and 'excuse' in those after.

8.

I. ii. 200. "Glou. But shall I live in hope?

Ann. All men, I hope, live so.

Glou. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Ann. To take is not to give.

Glou. Look how this ring encompasseth thy finger," &c.

Here we have in the Folio a change which Shakspere certainly could not have intended:—

"Rich. But shall I live in hope?
Ann. All men, I hope, live so.
Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Rich. Look how my ring encompasseth thy finger," &c.

That the ring was given to Anne by Richard, and not to Richard by

Anne, and that no change was intended in that, I hold to be certain. But no inference can be drawn from this as to the capacity of the corrector; for it is plainly no correction, but an ordinary accident of the press. The printer had missed out the whole of Anne's last half-line speech. The reader (or whoever in those days was charged with correcting the first proof), finding Richard's name prefixed to two successive speeches, thus—

"Ann. All men, I hope live so.

Rich. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Rich. Look, how this ring encompasseth," &c.,

struck out one of them, and (as it happened) he struck out the first. If I may trust Booth's reprint, the state of the type bears traces of what occurred, for the word 'Vouchsafe' does not range with the other lines.

9.

I. ii. 234. "The bleeding witness of her hatred by."

The Folio reads my instead of her.

In this case the true reading is not quite so indisputable; because the dead body of Henry was not so much the 'witness' as the motive or ground of Anne's hatred of Richard, whereas it was really the witness of Richard's hatred of her father-in-law. I suspect, indeed, that the reading of the Quarto represents Shakspere's meaning; but the alteration is one which might suggest itself to any intelligent inattentive reader, and cannot therefore be fairly laid to the charge of the corrector.

10.

I. iii. 17. "Here come the lords of Buckingham and Darby." The Folio reads:—

"Here comes the Lord of Buckingham and Derby."

In this case, again, I have little doubt that the Quarto gives the true reading; and that Shakspere would not have made any such alteration. But could any intelligent critic have done so? For we must not forget that whoever made the corrections for the Folio was a good writer and no fool. I think he was not answerable in this case for anything more than overlooking a misprint. We have no means of

knowing what edition he made his corrections in, but, unless it was one of the two first Quartos, the line in his copy ran thus:—

"Here comes the Lords of Buckingham and Darby."

If he failed to observe the error the printer would take the liberty of correcting what would seem an obvious blunder, and the printer was just as likely to correct it by putting 'Lords' into the singular as 'comes' into the plural.

11.

I. iii. 63. "The King, of his own royal disposition And not provoked by any suitor else, Aiming belike at your interior hatred Which in your outward actions shows itself Against my kindred, brothers, and myself, Makes him to send, that thereby he may gather The ground of your ill-will, and to remove it."

Though the alteration made in the Folio in the last two lines is a very considerable one, and might therefore at first sight appear to be certainly intentional and deliberate, I am inclined to think that it was really accidental. The construction of the sentence, it will be observed, is irregular; and the irregularity (which, though natural enough in an eager speaker, does not seem to be wanted for any dramatic purpose) might naturally have recommended it for correction. "The King, of his own royal disposition . . . makes him [i. e. the King] to send," &c.: the meaning being that the royal disposition of the King makes him to send. But though this part of the sentence would have borne correction so well,—I am inclined myself to think that it still needs some,—the alteration made in the Folio does not touch it. The irregularity is left as it was, and the correction is confined to the last two lines, which are condensed into one, but not at all improved by the condensation.

"Makes him to send that he may learn the ground"

is the reading of the Folio, omitting the concluding words. It is difficult to see the motive of such an alteration as this, whoever made it, and I suspect that it has arisen from a misunderstanding by the printer of the directions in the copy. If the manuscript or corrected Quarto which was sent to the press could be produced, I should

expect to find in it directions for an alteration such as that suggested by Pope, and adopted, with an improvement, by Hanmer and Capell:—

"Makes him to send that he may learn the ground Of your ill-will, and thereby may remove it."

12.

I. iii. 113. "What threat you me with telling of the King?

Tell him and spare not: look, what I have said
I will avouch in presence of the King.
"Tis time to speak. My pains are quite forgot."

Here the Folio omits the second line altogether; and, though a slight change is introduced into the third, to save the grammar, which had been disordered by the omission, I am inclined to think that the omission itself was an accident. The change, 'avouch't' for 'avouch,' may have been introduced by the reader or editor, merely to make But a new line has at the same time been added, which, as the Cambridge editors adopt it, I presume they do not include among those which cannot be ascribed to Shakspere. This line I suppose to have been inserted in a copy (containing the line omitted in the Folio) which was sent to the printer; and I suppose, both the loss of the missing line and the insertion of the 't' in that which followed, to have been the work of the printing-office, no other corrector having seen or had anything to do with it. If my supposition be correct there is nothing here to throw light upon the character of the corrector. When all was done, the whole passage stood in the Folio as follows :--

"What? threat you me with telling of the King? I will avouch't in presence of the King. I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower. 'Tis time to speak.

My pains are quite forgot."

But I have no doubt that in printing the first three lines as they stand in the Quarto, and inserting the line which was added in the Folio, the Cambridge editors have restored the passage to the shape in which Shakspere intended it to stand.

I. iii. 160. "Which of you trembles not, that looks on me? If not, that I being Queen, you bow like subjects, Yet that by you deposed, you quake like rebels?"

The only alteration made in this passage (in which the awkwardness of the expression might seem to have invited more) is the substitution in the second line of am for being: "If not that I am Queen, you bow like subjects," where certainly 'being' seems to me the likelier reading; though it can hardly be said with confidence that 'am' is inadmissible, or that Shakspere may not for some reason have preferred it. At any rate, it is one of those slight changes which easily make themselves in the process of printing. The meaning is clear enough, but the wording (though not altogether unlike the style in which Queen Elizabeth sometimes expressed herself) is so unusual as to provoke conjectural emendation.

14.

I. iii. 301. "And say poor Margaret was a prophetess."

The Folio prints 'poor Margaret' within a parenthesis, which is undoubtedly wrong. It is certain that Shakspere would not have made that change. But would any corrector have done so who understood English? Clearly it is evidence of too little editorial care, not too much.

15.

I. iii. 309. "Qu. I never did her any to my knowledge."

Here again the Folio is undoubtedly wrong in giving this speech to *Mar.*, that is, old Queen Margaret, who has just made her exit, and about whom they are talking. But there can be as little doubt that it was a mere error of press or pen. The nine preceding woman-speeches had had *Mar.* prefixed, and the transcriber or printer had not got over the habit of inserting it.

16.

I. iii. 327. "Clarence whom I indeed have laid in darkness."

The Folio reads who for whom (another printer's, rather than cor-

rector's, mistake), and cast for laid; a change which Shakspere himself would naturally have made when he observed that the same word had been used in the preceding line in a different sense.

"The secret mischiefs that I set abroach I lay unto the grievous charge of others."

17.

I. iii. 332. "Now they believe me, and withal whet me To be revenged on Rivers, Vaughan, Gray."

Here the Folio makes two alterations:-

"Now they believe it, and withal whet me To be revenged on Rivers, Dorset, Gray."

The reason for preferring it to me in the first line is obvious. That there is some reason for supposing that Shakspere would not, but that another man might, have substituted Dorset for Vaughan, is possible; but I do not myself see any.

18.

I. iv. 233. "Tell him when that our princely father York [241 in Globe] Blest his three sons with his victorious arm,
And charged us from his soul to love each other,
He little thought of this divided friendship."

The third line is omitted by the Folio altogether; a fact which, if done on purpose, would certainly look like the work of a very injudicious corrector. But it is not like the way in which editorial mis-judgment commonly acts; whereas the dropping out of a whole line is one of the ordinary accidents of the press, where there is no editor to look after it.

19.

I. iv. 253. "2. What shall we do?
[263 in Globe] Cla. Relent and save your souls.
1. Relent, tis cowardly and womanish.

Cla. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.

My friend I spy some pity in thy looks.

O if thy eye be not a flatterer

Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,

A begging prince what beggar pities not?"

Here, between Clarence's answer to the second murderer and the first murderer's reply, five new lines are inserted in the Folio, and

they are admitted to be Shakspere's own. But they leave an awkwardness in the text, which suggested to Johnson that they had been misplaced, and ought to have been inserted at the end of Clarence's last speech, instead of the beginning, immediately after "relent and save your souls," where they are introduced in the Folio. I have no doubt that he was right, and that subsequent editors, in endeavouring to improve upon the proposed arrangement, have spoiled it. Johnson seems, indeed, to have thought it necessary to interpose an exclamation from one of the murderers, which I do not think is wanted, and which I omit. This being left out, the whole passage will stand thus:—

"2. What shall we do?
Clar. Relent and save your souls.
1. Relent! no 'tis cowardly and womanish.
Cla. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.
My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks:
Oh, if thine eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my side and entreat for me.
A begging Prince, what beggar pities not?
Which of you, if you were a Prince's Son,
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,
If two such murderers as yourselves came to you,
Would not entreat for life? As you would beg
Were you in my distress—
2. Look behind you, my Lord."

This reading is exactly the reading of the Folio, except that the added lines are transferred from 1. 254 (following 'Relent and save your souls') to 1. 264 (following 'A begging Prince'&c.); that a note of interrogation has been inserted after 'life;' and that the full stop after 'distress' has been changed to the sign of an unfinished sentence. The second murderer, who has begun to relent, seeing the other preparing to stab Clarence from behind, interrupts him, and tries to put him on his guard. No other change seems to me to be wanted. But this is another instance of too little care, rather than too much, on the part of the editor—if indeed there was any editor in the business.

This brings us to the end of the first Act: in which the total number of lines is 1062, and the number of these which have

suffered alteration of one kind or another is a little more than 300. Among these the only alterations which I see any reason to think Shakspere could not have intended to make are those nineteen which I have noticed. If we should examine the others, we might probably find that the number of those which there is reason to think he might have intended is larger. But it will be better to go through with these before we enter upon that question.

20.

II. i. 5. "And now in peace my soul shall part from heaven, Since I have set my friends at peace on earth."

The Folio reads:-

"And more to peace my soul shall part to heaven Since I have made my friends at peace on earth."

I think we may assume that Shakspere could not have intended to change in for to in the first line. But as in the same line from had to be changed to to before 'heaven;' and it is possible that he may have meant to substitute at for in, before 'peace;' it is easy to suppose some confusion in the directions, that would account for such an error of the press.

21.

II. i. 7. "Rivers and Hastings take each other's hand."

Here we find in the Folio an important variation, evidently deliberate and intentional, yet evidently wrong; and therefore a case in point. The Folio substitutes,

"Dorset and Rivers take each other's hand."

Now, as Dorset had had no quarrel with his uncle Rivers, and as the immediately subsequent dialogue makes it certain that Rivers and Hastings were the persons really addressed, we may surely conclude that such an alteration cannot have proceeded from any one who knew the relations of the *dramatis personæ*,—therefore not from Shakspere of all men. But though I cannot doubt that this variation was something more than an accident of the press,—that it represents something which was intended by somebody,—I do very much doubt whether the alteration as it stands was that which the alterer intended.

The mistake is, in fact, too palpable to be imputed to any man of ordinary intelligence who was paying as much attention to the meaning as he must be supposed to have done when making a deliberate improvement in another man's work—more especially if he knew that the work was William Shakspere's. Indeed, it is scarcely more possible to imagine our supposed corrector making such an alteration than Shakspere himself. It is far easier to imagine that a line has dropped out in the printing, or that a correction had been begun in the MS. and left incomplete. Either is possible; but the accident in printing is the more probable, because we know otherwise that it is a very common one. Suppose the corrected passage stood thus in the copy sent to press:—

"Dorset and Rivers, Hastings, Buckingham, Come all before me: take each other's hand."

This would have fitted the place quite well, and left no difficulty. The omission in printing of the last half of one line and the first half of the next is, we know, an accident very liable to occur, and as we have no reason to suppose that any one of the nature of an editor had an opportunity of seeing the printed sheets before they were settled, the occurrence of such an accident here would explain the whole thing. The corrector had sent his copy to the press free from error: the error introduced there he knew nothing of.

Of course I do not imagine that the words which I have supplied were those really written between the lines of the corrected copy. But I do think that they must have been words to that effect.

22.

II. i. 19. "Nor your son Dorset; Buckingham, nor you."
The Folio reads you for your. A misprint.

23.

II. i. 45. "Enter Glocester.

Buc. And in good time here comes the noble Duke."

So the passage stands in the Quarto. In the Folio it is printed thus:-

"Buc. And in good time,

Here comes Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and the Duke.

Enter Ratcliffe and Gloster."

Here the alteration in the stage-direction was no doubt intended. Sir Richard Ratcliffe is described by Sir T. More in his history as one "whose service the Protector specially used in that counsel" [the murder of the Lords at Pomfret] "and the execution of such lawless enterprises, as a man who had been long secret with him," &c. He had an important part in the action of the play, though he scarcely speaks a dozen lines, all through. Shakspere probably thought it advisable to bring him and his relation to Richard into prominence, that when he appears presently in the exercise of his office the spectators might know who he was. Therefore, though he is a mute in this scene, he was to come in with Richard; and 'Ratcliffe,' or 'Sir Richard Ratcliffe,' was written in the margin, meaning it to be added to the stage direction, 'Enter Glocester.' The printer or the transcriber (for we do not know in what shape the copy went to the press) mistook it for an insertion meant for the text, and thrust it into Buckingham's speech; where it disorders the metre and does not come in at all naturally. Ratcliffe's name has not been mentioned before: he comes only as an attendant of the Duke: he does not come to say anything: and why should his name be put first? Only for the verse probably. I believe the corrector intended the text of the Quarto to remain as it is; and the stage-direction to be-"Enter Gloster and Sir Richard Ratcliffe."

23a.

II. i. 56. "If I unwittingly or in my rage."

The Folio reads 'unwillingly,' an ordinary misprint.

24

II. i. 57. "Have ought committed that is hardly borne By any in this presence."

The Folio reads "To any in this presence." A reading which might perhaps be defended: though I take it for another misprint.

25.

The next passage requires more consideration.

II. i. 62. "First madam I entreat true peace of you,

63. Which I will purchase with my duteous service;

64. Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,

65. If ever any grudge were lodged between us; 66. Of you Lord Rivers, and Lord Gray of you,

67. That all without desert have frowned on me; 68. Dukes, Earls, Lords, gentlemen; indeed of all."

In the Folio the first four lines are unaltered; but in place of the last three we find:—

"Of you and you, Lord Rivers and of Dorset,
That all without desert have frowned on me;
Of you Lord Woodville, and Lord Scales of you;
Dukes, Earls, Lords, gentlemen, indeed of all."

Here the Cambridge editors adhere to the Quarto; rejecting the new line altogether, as due to the supposed corrector, and not incorporable with the uncorrupted text of Shakspere. The line,

" Of you Lord Woodville, and Lord Scales of you,"

which "the corrector," they say, "intended to follow line 66, is placed in the Folio after line 67. We have not introduced this line into the text, because Shakspere would not have introduced it after line 66 as it stands in the Quarto, nor have altered that line as it is altered in the Folio." (Note vii., p. 641.)

If this can be well made out, we have here conclusive evidence of the corrector's hand: an alteration which Shakspere cannot be supposed to have authorised, and yet which cannot be attributed to the printer: for though printers often miss a line out by accident, they never put one in.

But it seems to me that the passage as it stands in the Quarto required some alteration, and that a line must have dropped out: for as it stands, two persons are spoken of as all. Addressing Rivers and Gray, Richard would have said, not all, but both. What may have been the form of the omitted line, it is of course impossible to say. But it is not likely, as the editors justly observe, that Shakspere would have allowed two lines of exactly the same form to stand together. This, therefore, he avoided by making a change in the form of the first; introducing at the same time a third name, which removes the objection to the word 'all.' We have only to

suppose the first 'you' to be addressed to Lord Gray, and it will be found that the text as it stands in the Folio requires no alteration.

"Of you [to Gray], and you, Lord Rivers,—and of Dorset; That all without desert have frowned on me:
Of you, Lord Woodville, and Lord Scales, of you:
Dukes, Earls, Lords, Gentlemen; indeed, of all."

So understood, the alteration appears to me judicious, and the effect better, both for sense and metre. And I see no reason why Shakspere should not have made it.

26.

II. i. 98. "Then speak at once, what is it thou demandst."

Here the Folio has requests instead of demandst. Of the dropping of the final 't' (for euphony) in words of this kind several other instances are found in Shakspere.

27.

II. ii. 45. "Or like obedient subjects follow him
To his new kingdom of perpetual rest."

For 'perpetual rest' the Folio substitutes 'ne'er changing night.' I do not myself see why this change should have been made. But if it was to avoid a too common-place expression, the need was more likely to be felt by Shakspere himself than a corrector.

28.

II. ii. 82. "She for Edward weeps, and so do I.
I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she,
These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I.
I for an Edward weep, so do not they."

So the passage stands in the first Quarto. The reading of the Folio is clearly wrong, and one which Shakspere could not have authorised; but as clearly it is wrong by a mere error of the press,—the last half of one line, and the first half of the next, having been missed out.

"She for an Edward weeps, and so do I.
I for a Clarence weeps, so doth not she.
These babes for Clarence weep; so do not they.

The omission of 'an' in the first line, in the Quarto, and the repetition in the Folio of weeps (instead of weep) in the second,

are only worth mentioning as additional instances of undesigned alterations, with which no corrector had anything to do;—accidents of the press.

29.

II. ii. 142. "Who they shall be that straight shall post to *Ludlow*." Here the Folio reads *London* instead of *Ludlow*, an alteration which certainly cannot have been intended either by author or corrector; but may easily have been made without thinking either by transcriber or printer.

30.

II. ii. 145. "Ans. With all our hearts."

This half line is left out in the Folio; by oversight, I presume. It cannot have been meant for correction.

31.

II. iii. 12. "In him there is a hope of government,

That in his nonage, counsel under him,

And in his full and ripened years himself,

No doubt shall then, and till then govern well."

Here some correction seems wanted: and that which the Folio supplies (which instead of that in the second line) is not enough. But both Johnson and Malone suspected that a whole line has been lost; and till we know what it was, we cannot judge whether the substitution of which for that was an improvement or the contrary.

Which in his non-age counsel under him [May execute by his authority:]

would make the sentence intelligible and grammatical; though it does not, to my ear, quite suit the turn of the words. The 'and till then' in the last line stands in the way.

32.

II. iii. 35. "Untimely storms make men expect a dearth." The Folio reads makes. Another misprint.

33.

II. iv. 1. The next case is one which seems more to the purpose; and being one to which the Cambridge editors have drawn special attention, deserves a full examination.

The Cardinal, or Archbishop, comes to the Queen in the middle

of the night to tell what he has heard about the progress of the Prince. In the Quarto, he says:—

"Last night I hear they lay at Northampton: At Stony Stratford will they be to-night: To-morrow, or next day, they will be here."

In the Folio :-

"Last night I heard they lay at Stony Stratford And at Northampton they do rest to-night; To-morrow or next day they will be here."

Now, as the Prince was on his way from Ludlow to London, and Stony Stratford is nearer to London than Northampton, the alteration has certainly very much the appearance of a correction made for the sake of the metre without consideration of the sense. So Malone took it to be, and the Cambridge editors are of the same opinion. Their attention appears indeed to have been drawn to the fact that the statement as it stands in the Folio was correct according to the Chronicle; but they find it inconsistent with Shakspere's meaning as indicated by the Archbishop's next words. "The Folio reading," they say, "accidentally coincides with the statement of Hall's chronicle, but (what is of more consequence) it is inconsistent with the next line of the Archbishop's speech." (Note ix., p. 642.)

Now, I do not see why the coincidence should be pronounced accidental; seeing that the scene in the play is evidently derived either directly, or indirectly through Hall or Stowe, from Sir T. More's life of Edward V. According to which, the Archbishop had been roused "not long after midnight" by a messenger from Lord Hastings; "of whom he heard that these Dukes were gone back with the King's grace from Stony Stratford unto Northampton." Upon which, he roused and armed his household, and taking the Great Seal with him, "came yet before day unto the Queen." What he had 'heard' was what he had been told by Hastings's messenger: it was exactly what he said: and it was true. The Prince had lain at Stony Stratford last night, and to-night (that is, the night, not yet past, in which they were speaking) he was to rest at Northampton. In this case, therefore, the correction is clearly right, and the Quarto wrong. For it was not true either that they did lie at

Northampton the night before, or that they were to be at Stony Stratford that night, or that he had heard news to that effect; and it may be reasonably suspected that some one into whose hands the MS. of the Quarto passed on its way to the printer, had noticed what his topographical knowledge assured him was a mistake, and, not being nice about metre, had introduced the correction, which Shakspere in revising the play removed.

But the editors say it is inconsistent with the next line in the Archbishop's speech. I do not see how. The next line is-

"To-morrow, or next day, they will be here."

Why not? They were on their way to London; and though they had gone 12 miles back, and would therefore be so much later in arriving, there was no difficulty that need trouble a playgoer in supposing that they might arrive within two days.

34.

II. iv. 9. "Why, my young cousin, it is good to grow."

The Folio reads good for young; and it is hardly likely that Shakspere would have repeated the word in the same line, where the repetition had no significance. Neither is it likely that a corrector who was aspiring to improve Shakspere's composition—especially one who evidently disliked the too near recurrence of the same word where it was not wanted-would have overlooked the fault which he was making. But it is a mistake which a careless printer was very likely to fall into.

35,

II. iv. 65. "Or let me die, to look on death no more."

For death the Folio reads earth. An injudicious correction, I should say: but for the origin of which it is not necessary to seek beyond the printing-office.

This brings us to the end of the second Act, in which there are 414 lines; of which 161 have been more or less corrected. The 15 which I have noticed are the only ones in which there is any appearance of difficulty in supposing that Shakspere meant to make the alteration.

III. i. 78. "Even to the general all-ending day."

Here the Folio omits all. A mistake certainly; of the printer, probably.

37.

III. i. 87. "Death makes no conquest of this conqueror."

Instead of this, the Folio reads his. Another mistake;—not a correction.

38.

III. i. 123. "I would, that I might thank you as you call me." The Folio repeats 'as':—'as, as you call me.' A misprint probably, though it might perhaps be defended as meant to indicate an affected hesitation.

39.

III. ii. 6. "Cannot thy master sleep these tedious nights?"

Here the Folio reads, "Cannot my Lord Stanley sleep," &c., a metrical irregularity such as we find frequently in the Quarto, and generally corrected in the Folio. But if the corrector, whoever he was, forgot to strike out the 'thy,' it would easily be turned into 'my' by the printer's intelligence.

40

III. ii. 91. "But come my Lo: shall we to the tower? Hast. I go: but stay, hear you not the news, This day those men you talkt of, are beheaded."

The Folio reads:-

"What, shall we toward the Tower? the day is spent.

Hast. Come, come, have with you. Wot you what,

my lord?

To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded."

The Cambridge editors, though they adopt the correction, cite it in support of their theory. It "looks," they say, "like an attempt of the editors to amend the defective metre of the Quartos. The scene opens at four in the morning, and yet Stanley is made to say 'the day is spent." (Note xii., p. 643.) True: but I do not understand him to mean that it is evening: only that it is getting late—which it might be at any time of the day.

III. iv. 4. "Are all things fitting for that royal time?"

The Folio has :---

"Is all things ready for the royal time?"

'Ready' seems to be an improvement upon 'fitting,' besides that it avoids the two *ings*. 'Is' with 'things' can not be justified: but it is more likely to have been caused by some confusion in the correction than by the corrector's preference.

42.

III. iv. 19. "But you my noble Lo: may name the time."

The Folio has:—

"But you, my honourable Lords, may name the time."

A misprint probably from reading 'ho:' for 'no:' 'no:' being an unusual abbreviation for 'noble,' while 'ho:' was the ordinary abbreviation for 'honourable,' it is easy to imagine how the mistake arose.

43

III. iv. 57. "By any likelihood he showed to-day."

Here the Folio has livelyhood. A misprint.

44.

III. iv. 84. "Stanley did dream the boar did race his helm."

The Folio reads rowse our helmes. Another misprint, I presume, as far as 'rowse' is concerned; for it cannot have been meant for a correction by anybody: 'our helms,' for 'his helm,' may perhaps have been intended. For though Stanley's message was that he had dreamed that "the boar had rased off his helm," it was a dream in which he supposed Hastings to have an equal interest; and as it had not come true in his own case, it was only as applying to them both that it was in point.

"Stanley did dream the boar did race his helm But I disdained it, and did scorn to fly."

The change in the wording of the message, as recalled under the present circumstances, is legitimate and natural. And according to

the authority which Shakspere was following it was, in fact, the more correct. The circumstance is taken from Sir T. More's life of Edward V. "For the self night next before his death, the Lord Stanley sent a trusty secret messenger unto him at midnight in all the haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer to bide, he had so fearful a dream, in which him thought that a Boar with his tusks so rased them both by the heads, that the blood ran about their shoulders."

The misprint of rowse may perhaps have been owing to some alteration of the spelling of the word 'race.' In Stowe's black-letter copy of More's life of Edward V. it is spelt both race and rase in the same page. It is possible that an attempt to turn race into rase may have made the word look like rouse.

45.

III. vii. 58. "Here comes his servant. How now Catesby, what says he?"

Here the Folio makes a correction which I cannot think that Shakspere would have authorised, although those who accept the first Folio as representing him most faithfully can hardly say so.

"Now Catesby what says your Lord to my request?"

I think he meant to strike out now, as well as how.

These are all the corrections in Act III. which I see any reason for thinking that Shakspere could not have made. And yet out of the 1028 lines which the Act contains, there are 411 that have undergone more or less alteration.

46.

IV. ii. 46.

"Enter Darby.

King. How now, what news with you?

Darby. My Lord, I hear the Marquis Dorset

Is fled to Richmond, in those parts beyond the seas where he abides."

Instead of this, the Folio reads:-

" Enter Stanley.

Rich. How now Lord Stanley, what's the news?
Stanley. Know my loving Lord, the Marquess Dorset
As I hear, is fled to Richmond,
In the parts where he abides."

I cannot believe that Shakspere intended the passage to stand in either of these forms. But if he wrote directions in the margin, or between the lines, for regulating the metre, it is easy to imagine a printer misunderstanding them.

Suppose he was making his corrections in a copy of the Quarto; and that the brackets which I use represent a line drawn through the bracketed words, and the dotted lines words inserted. His first correction may have been as follows:—

Stanley
Enter [Darby.]

King. How now, what news with you?

Know loving

Stanley [Darby.] [My] Lord || [I hear] the Marquis Dorset, as I hear,

the

Is fled || to Richmond in [those] parts [beyond the seas] where he abides ||.

This would mean :-

King. How now, what news with you?

Stanley. Know, loving Lord,
The Marquis Dorset, as I hear, is fled

To Richmond in the parts where he abides.

Afterwards he may have thought it better to introduce Lord Stanley's name into the dialogue, as the audience were not very familiar with him; and altered it again:—

Lord Stanley, what's the

King. How now, [what] news [with you] ?

[Know loving]

[My] Lord [I hear] the Marquis Dorset, &c.

This would mean :-

King. How now, Lord Stanley, what's the news ? Stanley. My Lord,

The Marquis Dorset, &c.

The printer, understanding that my was to be put in again, but not understanding that Know loving was to be put out, made it Know my loving Lord—not readable into verse any how.

This would be one of those accidents of the press which, though not what can be called ordinary, yet will happen occasionally. An error so easily made and so easily mended cannot justify any inference as to the capacity of the corrector.

47.

IV. ii. 72. "I, my Lord, but I had rather kill two enemies." The Folio reads:—

"Please you: But I had rather kill two enemies."

And here, again, I suspect, we have the result of a misunderstood direction to the printer. Suppose the correction made thus:—

Please you
"[I my Lord but] I had rather kill two enemies."

If the erasing line was not carried through 'but,' or if the printer did not observe that it was, we should have our present reading of the Folio. But the corrector meant, no doubt, to make a verse of it.

48.

IV. ii. 94. "The earldom of *Herford*, and the moveables."

The Folio has *Hertford* here for *Herford*, which I believe is a mistake. But it is printed *Hertford* (once at least) in Stowe.

49.

IV. ii. 103—120. Here we have in the Quarto seventeen lines of dialogue which are omitted in the Folio. But the fact does not help to settle the question at issue; for, though it is not easy to see why they should have been struck out, the scene reads quite well without them. They relate to the dismissal of Buckingham by Richard, and perhaps Shakspere thought that he had represented Richard as making too many words about it, and approaching it too indirectly. "Thou troublest me: I am not in the vein," was enough.

50.

IV. iii. 15. "Which once (quoth Forrest) almost changed my mind." Here the Folio reads one for once: a misprint.

51.

IV. iii. 31. "Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at after supper." The Folio reads and for at. Another misprint.

IV. iv. 41. "I had a Richard till a Richard killed him."

Here the *Quarto* is undoubtedly wrong. For it is old Queen Margaret that speaks. The obvious error might have suggested the correction to anybody; and the Folio substitutes "I had a *husband*." I suspect, however, that it was Shakspere's own mistake, and I doubt whether it was his own correction. The line was evidently meant to correspond in form with the next but one—

"Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard killed him,"—

and no word but Richard will give the proper effect.

Here, therefore, I admit that we have reason to suspect the intrusion of a non-Shaksperean hand.

53.

IV. iv. 52, 53. Here we have two lines inserted in the Folio, but inserted in the wrong order, an accident that may easily happen in printing from an interlined manuscript, and cannot be presumed to have been intentional.

54.

IV. iv. 86. Here we have another instance of the same kind, but not so obvious, and worth explaining at length.

"One heaved a high, to be hurled down below:
A mother only mocked with two sweet babes:
A dream of which thou wert, a breath, a bubble;
A sign of dignity, a garish flag,
To be the aim of every dangerous shot;
A queen in jest, only to fill the scene."

Thus it stands in the first Quarto, where it seems as if some of the lines had got displaced; for the two beginning "A sign of dignity" ought apparently to follow the first—"One heaved a high," &c.—while the one beginning "A dream of what thou wert"—would come more naturally between "A mother only mocked," &c., and "A queen in jest," &c. The corrector intended, as I suspect, to tell the printer to put the fourth and fifth lines before the second and third, which was all that was wanted; but the printer mistook the direction, and increased the disorder by making "a garish flag"

change places with "a breath, a bubble," and putting the fifth line before the fourth; thus:—

"A dream of what thou wast, a garish flag,
To be the aim of every dangerous shot;
A sign of dignity, a breath, a bubble,
A queen in jest," &c.

I should certainly prefer the reading of the Quarto to this. But I should prefer the following to either, and I cannot but think that it was the one intended:—

"One heaved ahigh, to be hurled down below:
A sign of dignity, a garish flag,
To be the aim of every dangerous shot:
A mother only mocked with two fair babes;
A dream of what thou wast, a breath, a bubble,
A queen in jest, only to fill the scene."

Perhaps it would be better still to make the fifth line change places with the fourth. But, at any rate, I am clear that the 'sign of dignity' and the 'garish flag' were not meant to be separated.

Here, therefore, we have evidence of an intentional alteration of some kind; and if the reading of the Folio represents the intention of the alterer, I admit a difficulty in imputing it to Shakspere. But if, on the other hand, his intention was misunderstood by the printer or transcriber, and he meant only that the lines which stand second and third should come after those which stand fourth and fifth, I should say that the alteration was judicious.

55.

In the next case, we find alterations in the Folio which are certainly for the worse. But then we have no reason to think that they were designed.

IV. iv. 127. "Windy attornies to your client wees; Airy succeeders to intestate joys."

Here for "your client woes" the Folio has "their clients woes;" and, though probably right as to their, is certainly wrong as to clients. For intestate, in the next line, it has intestine, which must be a blunder, but need not be imputed to the reviser, being an ordinary case of a less familiar word misread by the printer for a more familiar one.

IV. iv. 173. "What comfortable hour canst thou name That ever graced me in thy company?"

Instead of in the Folio reads with, which is perhaps right.

57.

IV. iv. 348. "To wail the title as his mother doth."

Vaile, which the Folio reads instead of waile, belongs again to the printer.

58.

IV. iv. 355. "Say I her sovereign, am her subject love." Here the Folio has low instead of love.

Which is right, may be questioned; but, right or wrong, the change requires no curious explanation.

59.

IV. iv. 364. The next supplies another instance of misplacement in the Folio, easily explicable as a misunderstood direction for the insertion of an omitted line. The first Quarto has the passage right:—

"King. Harp not on that string, madam: that is past. Qu. Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break."

The second Quarto omitted the first line (by accident), and gave the second to the King. The corrector of the Folio copy restored the lost line, but the printer put it in the wrong place: thus, continuing the Queen's speech:—

"Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break.

Rich. Harp not on that string, madam; that is past."

60

IV. iv. 376. "King. Then by myself.

Queen. Thyself thyself misusest."

The Folio places this earlier—immediately after "Swear then by something that thou hast not wronged" (373); and reads, "Thy self is self-misused."

I do not see the reason of either change, though I could not say that either is distinctly wrong; still less that it must be the work of a correcting editor other than the writer.

61

IV. iv. 417. "And be not peevish fond in great designs." Here the Folio, which reads found for fond, is certainly wrong. One cannot fancy Shakspere making that alteration. But then it is easy to fancy a printer or transcriber not understanding the effect of the double epithet (peevish-fond) and supposing fond a mistake for found, which makes very good sense.

62.

IV. iv. 440. Here follows another of the few passages which the Cambridge editors have specially cited as supporting their theory; and therefore I must notice it at greater length than I should otherwise have thought it necessary.

In the first Quarto we read:

"King. Some light-foot friend post to the Duke of Norfolk.

Ratcliffe, thyself, or Catesby, where is he?

Cat. Here my Lord.

King. Fly to the Duke: post thou to Salisbury, When thou com'st thither: dull, unmindful villain, Why stand'st thou still and go'st not to the Duke?

Cat. First mighty sovereign let me know your mind," &c.

The Folio agrees as to the first two lines, and then proceeds thus:-

"Cat. Here my good Lord.

Rich. Catesby, fly to the Duke.

Cat. I will my Lord with all convenient haste. Rich. Catesby come hither: post to Salisbury:

When thou com'st thither: Dull unmindful villain Why stay'st thou here and go'st not to the Duke?

Cat. First mighty Liege, tell me your Highness pleasure," &c.

Now, as it appears by the speeches interchanged between Richard and Ratcliffe, a few lines further on (as they stand in both copies), that it was he who had been told to post to Salisbury, it is certain that 'Catesby' in his second speech ("Catesby come hither") was either a misprint or a slip of the pen for 'Ratcliffe.' This correction, therefore, must be made; and, being made, it leaves everything clear and consistent. The Cambridge editors prefer the reading of the Quartos; and after quoting the line, "Catesby, come hither," &c., as it stands in the Folio, observe that "this seems to show that the text

of the Quarto has been amended in the Folios by no very skilful hand." (Note xx., p. 646.) To me it seems to show that the Folio has been edited by no very skilful hand; but the correction (first suggested by Rowe) which was obviously intended cannot surely be taken for any proof of want of skill in the alterer. It makes the meaning so clear that it is scarcely necessary to insert the stage-direction [to Catesby] before "Dull unmindful villain."

63.

IV. iv. 488. "Please it your Majesty to give me leave."

The Folio reads: - "Pleaseth your Majesty," &c.

There is at least one other instance in Shakspere of the use of pleaseth in this way (Comedy of Errors, IV. i. 12). But, for our present purpose, it is needless to discuss it; for it may as easily be a misprint as a change of construction.

64.

IV. iv. 491. "I, I, thou wouldst be gone to join with Richmond." The Folio has, "I, thou wouldst," &c., not repeating the 'I,' and making the verse unmetrical. As one of the labours of the corrector (whoever he was) was to remove all such irregularities (which abound in the Quarto), I take this for a misprint.

65.

IV. iv. 497. "leave behind Your son George Stanley; look your faith be firm," &c. Instead of faith the Folio reads heart; though faith seems to be the properer word, and no change seems to be required. This, therefore, does appear to be a case in point. Valeat quantum.

This brings us to the end of the fourth Act; in which, out of 848 lines, there are 321 more or less altered; and of these only the 20 that I have quoted show any alteration which there seems to be even an appearance of difficulty in supposing to have been Shakspere's own.

66.

V. ii. 11. "this foul swine Lies now even at the centre of this ile."

The Folio has :-

"Is now even in the centry of this isle."

Centry I take for a misprint.

In this Act, up to line 45 of the third scene, there are a great many variations between the Quarto and the Folio; most of them evidently designed, but only one that I have remarked as evidently wrong. In the remaining scenes there are comparatively few, and those which occur are almost all for the worse. But they bear no evidence upon their face of having been designed; and from this I infer that the revision by the corrector (whoever he was) was not carried further; and that the rest of the play as we have it in the Folio is only the text of the Quarto reprinted, with such additional mistakes as are commonly found in reprints that have not been seen through the press by a careful and intelligent editor. As I shall have to cite almost all of them as alterations which I cannot believe that Shakspere would have made, the evidence on this point will be before the reader, and he will judge for himself.

67. V. iii. 58. "King. Catesby."

Here the Folio has 'Ratcliffe.' The answer is assigned by both Quarto and Folio to Rat. But at the end of his next speech (in both copies) Richard calls 'Ratcliffe,' and Ratcliffe answers. There seems, therefore, to be an error in both Quarto and Folio; and I suppose it came about in this way. In the Quarto Rat. was printed by mistake for Cat. (l. 59). The printer of the Folio, observing that Rat. (that is, Ratcliffe) answered Richard's call, and not looking forward to the end of the next speech, concluded that Ratcliffe and not Catesby had been called, and made the alteration accordingly.

If he had let 'Catesby' stand in 1. 58, and merely substituted Cat. for Rat. before 1. 59, all would have been right.

68.

V. iii. 104. "Fll strive with troubled thoughts to take a nap."

The Folio reads:—'troubled noise.' A blunder, however it came about.

V. iii. 125. "By thee was punched full of deadly holes."

The Folio omits 'deadly,' leaving an imperfect line. From this we may gather that one of the later Quartos was used for 'copy.' All the Quartos except the first omit 'deadly.'

70.

V. iii. 152. "Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard." The Folio (following again all the Quartos except the first) reads laid for lead.

71.

V. iii. 154. "Thy nephews souls bid thee despair and die."

The Folio has:—

"Thy nephews soul bids thee despair and die."

A new blunder of its own.

72.

V. iii. 180. "The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight." The Folio (following again all the Quartos except the first) reads:—"It is not dead midnight."

73.

V. iii. 196. "Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree." The Folio (following all the Quartos except the first and second) omits the second 'perjury,' leaving an imperfect line.

74.

V. iii. 212. "King. Oh Ratcliffe, I have dreamed a fearful dream. What thinkest thou? will all our friends prove true?

Rat. No doubt, my Lord.

King. Oh Ratcliffe, I fear, I fear."

Here we have a considerable error peculiar to the Folio, but still it is one with which no corrector had anything to do. The first three lines are omitted altogether, no doubt by one of the most ordinary accidents of the press. Of the two lines beginning "King. Oh Ratcliffe," the compositor's eye had lighted on the last. Or it may have been the transcriber's mistake. Every practised transcriber knows how easily such an accident may occur.

V. iii. 250. "A base foul stone made precious by the foil." The Folio (following once more all the Quartos except the first and second) reads soil for foil.

76.

V. iii. 255. "If you do sweat to put a tyrant down."

The Folio (following all the Quartos except the first and second)

reads:—"If you do swear."

77.

V. iii. 293. "My foreward shall be drawn out all in length."

All the Quartos except the first omit 'out all,' and the Folio follows them, reading:—"My foreward shall be drawn in length."

78.

V. iii. 307. "Go gentlemen every man unto his charge." The Folio reads to his charge; an error of its own.

79.

V. iii. 338. "Fight gentlemen of England, fight bold yeomen."
For Fight the Folio reads Right.

80.

V. iii. 351. "Upon them: Victory sits on our helms."

For helmes the Folio reads helpes; and so do four of the Quartos,—
the 3rd, 5th, 6th, and 7th.

81.

V. v. 7. "Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it."

The Folio (following again all the Quartos except the two first) omits
'enjoy it,' leaving an imperfect line.

82.

V. v. 11. "Whither, if it please you, we may now withdraw us."

The Folio (this time without the authority of any previous edition)

reads:—

"Whither if you please we may now withdraw us." N. S. SOC. TRANS. 1875.

Besides those which I have set down, there are, I think, only 17 places in which the Folio varies from the first Quarto, after the 46th line of the third scene. The variations are all verbal, and all but one unimportant. But in Scene iv., line 10, where all the Quartos agree in reading,—

"Slave I have set my life upon a cast, And I will stand the hazard of the day,"—

the Folio reads "hazard of the dye;" which seems like an intelligent correction. In the other cases it would not be easy to make a choice.

This last Act contains 458 lines, of which 89 exhibit some alteration.

For the satisfaction of my own mind I have already carried the inquiry far enough, and might be content to end it here. For the variations which I have quoted being the only ones which I cannot suppose to have been designed by Shakspere himself,—and they being easily accounted for in almost every instance without supposing anybody besides the printer to have meddled with the text,—it follows that in my judgment no inference in favour of the Cambridge editors' theory can be drawn from those which remain. But the case against their theory would be left incomplete without some intimation of the number and nature of those other variations which have all the appearance of corrections deliberately and carefully made, and are in accordance with Shakspere's known practice at a later stage in his career as a dramatic writer.

Foremost among these come, of course, the inserted passages. "Passages," say the editors, "which in the Quarto are complete and consecutive are amplified in the Folio: the expanded text being quite in the manner of Shakspere. The Folio, too, contains passages not in the Quartos, which though not necessary to the sense, yet harmonise so well in sense and tone with the context, that we can have no hesitation in attributing them to the author himself." These being admitted to be Shakspere's own, I need not quote them; but as their importance with respect to the question at issue is not adequately conveyed by so general a statement, it may be well to give

some idea of their number, quantity, and distribution. This may be done by a simple enumeration, with reference to the places where they come in. Referring to the acts, scenes, and lines of the Cambridge edition, the lines indicated by the following numbers will be found in the first Folio, and not in any of the Quartos.

NEW LINES INSERTED IN *RICHARD III*. AS PRINTED IN THE FOLIO OF 1623,

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Act
        Scene
                   Lines
                16, 25, 155—167.
  I.
        ii.
                116, 167-169.
        iii.
                36, 37, 69—72, 113, 114, 165, 212. (256—259,
        iv.
                      263, 265.)1
II.
                67.
         i.
                89-100, 123-140.
         ii.
III.
         i.
                172 - 174.
                7, 8, 15.
        iii.
        iv.
                104 - 107.
                7, 103—105.
         v
                5, 6, 37, 98, 99, 120, 127, 144—153, 202, 245.
       vii.
IV.
         i.
                2-6, 37, 98-104.
        iv.
                20, 21, 28, 52, 53, 103, 159, 172, 179, 221—234,
                      276, 277, 288—342, 400.
 V.
        iii.
                27, 28, 43.
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Here, then, we have 193 new lines in all; but they are made up in great part of ones and twos—I see that out of the 45 insertions noted above, 22 consist of one line only, and 9 of only two—which being scattered irregularly through the whole of the first four Acts, indicate not merely the addition of a scene or a speech here and there, but a general revision and correction of the entire composition. Now, if Shakspere took so much trouble with the small additions and amplifications, why should we not suppose that he took as much with the corrections? The only reason I can imagine is, that the additions are judged to be worthy of him, and the corrections not. The Cambridge editors are so decidedly of this opinion that, while they admit into their text all the additional lines (with two

¹ The numbers within the brackets form a consecutive passage of 6 lines in the Folio. The separation is due to the modern editors. For the Globe edition the last eight numbers must be altered to these:—115, 116, 222, 266—269, 273, 275. The lines indicated by II. i. 67, and III. iii. 15, will be found in the foot-notes of the Cambridge edition, but not in the Globe edition at all.

exceptions) which they find in the Folio, they refuse more than two thirds of the corrections, in favour of the original readings of the Quarto. And since they assume that the text of the Folio is founded upon a copy of "the author's original MS., revised by himself, with corrections and additions, interlinear, marginal, and on inserted leaves" (Preface, p. xviii.), it is plain that every one of these corrections, unless there be some positive reason for ascribing it to another hand, has a right to its place in the text, as being that which the author preferred, whether we prefer it or not. positive reason of the kind they appear to have seen; for they "find in the Folio" (they say) "some insertions and many alterations which they may with equal certainty affirm not to be due to Shakspere:" with a certainty (that is) equal to that with which they affirm that the amplifications, expansions, and additions are due to him. But when I seek for the grounds of this certainty, I find nothing more definite than the following remarks in the Preface:-"Sometimes the alterations seem merely arbitrary, but more frequently they appear to have been made in order to avoid the recurrence of the same word, even where the recurrence adds to the force of the passage, or to correct a supposed defect of metre, although the metre cannot be amended except by spoiling the sense. Occasionally we seem to find indications that certain turns of phrase, uses of words or metrical licences, familiar enough to Shakspere and his earlier contemporaries, had become obsolete in the time of the corrector, and the passages modified accordingly." (Ib., p. xvii.)

Now, it is plain that the question whether we have here good reasons for concluding that these alterations were not due to Shakspere, or no reasons at all, depends entirely upon the truth of the assertion implied in the clauses which I have printed in italic. Where the recurrence of the same word adds force to the passage, the substitution of another in order to avoid its recurrence would be a good reason for thinking that Shakspere did not make the alteration. To remove a defect of metre at the expense of the meaning, is a thing which Shakspere cannot be suspected of—since he was certainly capable of making his metre perfect without spoiling his sense. But where are these alterations of phrase or metre from

which such effects follow? I have examined above a thousand cases, and (except those which I have already discussed) I have not found one in which I can myself perceive them. It is true that many of the changes seem 'arbitrary,'-or I should rather say uncalled for: that is, I do not myself see why any change should have been made. But it does not follow that Shakspere could have seen no reason for it, and an 'arbitrary' change, he being arbiter, would probably be an improvement. It is true that metrical irregularities similar to those which we find in the Quartos of Richard III. are frequent in the plays of his earlier contemporaries, and even in his own earliest dramatic writings: does it follow that in revising and correcting them at a later time he would not have removed such irregularities? We know that in his writings of the middle period he avoided them, and that such irregularities as at a later period he affected, and made such rich use of, were of quite a different character. It is true that many words and phrases which were familiar when he began to write, fell gradually into disuse: does it follow that in revising and correcting he would not change them for the words and phrases that had come into use instead? We know that he never affected antiquated phraseology, but wrote always in the spoken language of his own day. Richard III., being one of his earliest works, and yet continuing to be a popular acting play for many years, was the more likely not only to receive alterations from time to time, but to be thought worth re-editing and clearing of everything that from changes in the fashion had become unfit, or from changes in himself distasteful. If "in the time of the corrector" some of the phraseology had grown so obsolete as to require 'modification,' why not in the time of Shakspere himself? correction as late as you will, you cannot put it more than seven years after his death. Between 1616 and 1623 no sudden revolution occurred in popular taste, and you would probably find evidence in his own plays of the middle period that the change had begun long before. Supposing him to have taken the trouble to correct the play at all, alterations of this kind are precisely those which I should have expected him to make; and, therefore, unless it can be shown that they are made without judgment—that they spoil the sense, or

weaken the force of the passages in which they are introduced—I cannot understand what pretence there is for refusing to accept them as his.

The shortest way to settle this question would be to invite those who agree with the Cambridge editors in maintaining the affirmative to produce their examples; for to prove a negative, we must go through the whole list, which after deducting the cases I have already dealt with, still contains upwards of 900 alterations which the editors have rejected, and of which therefore there is none but may be an offender in this kind. But any man who possesses the Cambridge edition can do that for himself. A glance at the footnotes will tell him at once where the text follows the Quarto in preference to the Folio, and what the reading of the Folio is: and having the whole context before him, he can examine each doubtful point as it arises. I must content myself here with giving a few examples of these rejected alterations; classing them under the several heads indicated in the general remarks which I have quoted from the editor's preface:—namely, alterations made for the purpose of removing-1. defects of metre; 2. recurrence of the same word; 3. obsolete phrases; 4. defects distasteful to the corrector, for reasons not apparent to us.

II.

ALTERATIONS MADE TO IMPROVE THE METRE.

1.

So many of these have been adopted and admitted into the Cambridge text, that if I confine myself to those which have been rejected, and among which, therefore, the offenders must be sought, I may probably find room for all—all, I mean, that are evidently meant to remove gross and obvious defects of metre. Many of the alterations which the editors class as 'arbitrary,' would probably be found on careful examination to have been made with a view to metrical effect, but if I were to attempt to include these I should involve myself in doubtful disputation. I shall assume that the "supposed defects of metre which could not be amended except by spoiling the sense" are deviations from the recognized rules of

dramatic blank verse; and I will quote all that I can find,—of those which the editors have retained in their text.

1.

I. ii. 188, "Anne. I have already.

Rich. Tush, that was in thy rage."

The Folio omits 'Tush;' being a redundant syllable.

2.

I. ii. 236. "And I nothing to back my suit at all."
The Folio reads:—

"And I no friends to back my suit withal."

It is not improbable that, between the writing of the play and the revision, the modern accentuation of 'nothing' had become more general or more marked.

3.

I. iii. 36. "Madam, we did: he desires to make atonement."

Here is a line distinctly irregular; which the corrector alters, with the obvious intention of removing the irregularity:—

"I Madam, he desires to make atonement."

4.

I. iv. 59. "a legion of foul fiends Environed me about and howled in mine ears."

The Folio omits 'about,' and so gets rid of the alexandrine: an irregularity frequent in *Richard II.*, but in the "Histories of the second period" very much less so: one, therefore, which Shakspere had learned to dislike, and might be expected to remove in correcting.

5.

I. iv. 64, 65. "No marvel my Lord, though it affrighted you; I promise you, I am afraid to hear you tell it."

Here are two irregular lines together, both of which are reduced in the Folio to regularity:—

"No marvel, Lord, though it affrighted you; I am afraid (methinks) to hear you tell it."

6.

I. iv. 85. The Lieutenant of the Tower, who has been soliloquizing in very smooth verse, addresses the murderer in prose:—

"In God's name what are you, and how come you hither?"

The Folio makes him speak in verse:-

"What would'st thou fellow? and how com'st thou hither?"

7.

I. iv. 88, 89. "Brak. Yea are you so brief? 2 Exec. O Sir it is better to be brief than tedious."

The Folio reads:—

"Brak. What so brief?
1. 'Tis better, Sir, than to be tedious."

8.

I. iv. 192. [202 Globe.]

"That thou shalt do no murder, and wilt thou then,"

The Folio gives 'will you then,' omitting the 'and,' which made an eleventh syllable.

9.

I. iv. 198. "Thou didst receive the holy sacrament [208 Globe.] To fight in quarrel of the house of Lancaster." Though not properly an alexandrine, we have here a line of twelve syllables, which the corrector did not like. For he altered it to:—

"Thou didst receive the Sacrament to fight In quarrel of the House of Lancaster."

10.

I. iv. 207. [218 Globe.]

"Why Sirs, he sends you not to murder me for this."

It may be doubtful whether 'Why Sirs' was meant for part of the line or for an extra-metrical exclamation. Either way, the corrector prefers regularity and omits it.

11.

I. iv. 240. [250 Globe.]

"'Tis he that sent us hither now to slaughter thee."

Another twelve-syllable line, not allowed to remain. The Folio reads:—
"'Tis he that sends us to destroy you here."

12.

II. i. 1. "So now I have done a good day's work."

Here is a syllable wanting, which the Folio supplies:—

"Why, so: now I," &c.

II. i. 116. "how he did lap me Even in his own garments, and gave himself,"

Here is a metrical irregularity which in some circumstances is used with good effect, but in this place has only the effect of a stumble; and was so felt by the corrector, who carefully removes it:—

"Even in his garments, and did give himself,"

14.

II. i. 138. "God will revenge it. But come let's in."

The editors have felt the unpleasantness of this nine-syllable line coming in as it does for no reason among the smooth decasyllables; and have amended it by printing 'let us' for 'let's.' The corrector has done it better by substituting for the last clause, "Come, Lords will you go?"

15.

II. ii. 23—25. "And when he told me so, he wept
And hugged me in his arm, and kindly kissed my
cheek
And bad me rely on him as on my father."

Here we have three unmetrical lines coming together, which are all corrected in the Folio:—

"And when my uncle told me so he wept, And pitied me, and kindly kissed my cheek; Bade me rely on him as on my father."

The editors accept the correction in the first and third, but retain the alexandrine in the second, remembering, I suppose, that Shakspere used the alexandrine freely in the Chronicle plays of his first period, and not remembering that he disused it in those of his second; to which the version of Richard III. (if we may judge by the style of the inserted passages) probably belongs. I see that the case of Romeo and Juliet is in this respect analogous. According to Mr Fleay's metrical table (Transactions, p. 16) the first copy of Romeo and Juliet (printed in 1597, the same year as the first copy of Richard III.) contained 92 alexandrines; whereas the second copy, printed in 1599, contained only six, and I do not know how to avoid the inference that the weeding out of alexandrines was at that time characteristic

of Shakspere's own correcting hand. A comparison in this respect of the Folio with the Quarto of Richard III. (which Mr Fleay has not made) would probably give a result nearly similar.

16.

II. iv. 61—64.

"themselves, the conquerors,
Make war upon themselves, blood against blood,
Self against self: O preposterous
And frantic outrage," &c.

It will hardly be maintained that in the third of these lines the metre is not really defective. The corrector thought it was, though his correction is not in this (as in most other cases) complete. The Folio reads:—

"Make war upon themselves, brother to brother, Blood to blood, self 'gainst self: O preposterous And" &c.

I cannot help suspecting that the 'O' was meant to be struck out. I should indeed have thought Pope's conjecture of "O most preposterous" the more probable; nor should I have objected to the alexandrine in this place, though such alexandrines belong rather to a later stage in Shakspere's versification. But if the error was the omission of a word like 'most,' it seems unlikely that it would have been overlooked while the correction was under consideration.

17.

III. ii. 60—62. "Hast. I tell thee, Catesby.

Cate. What, my Lord?

Hast. Ere a fortnight make me elder

I'll send some packing that yet think not on it."

The Folio reduces this into two lines of regular metre:—
"Well Catesby, ere a fortnight make me older
I'll send," &c.

18.

III. ii. 80. "My Lord, I hold my life as dear as you do yours." This is printed as one line in the Quarto. In the Cambridge edition the alexandrine is got rid of by putting 'my Lord' in a line by itself. But the Folio does it another way:—

"My Lord, I hold my life as dear as yours."

III. iv. 10—13. "Who I my Lo? we know each other's faces: But for our hearts, he knows no more of mine Than I of yours; nor I no more of his than you of mine."

Here, again, the editors regulate the metre by putting "nor I of yours" in a separate line. The corrector, however, appears to like this kind of irregularity no better than the other:—

"We know each other's faces; for our hearts, He knows no more of mine than I of yours, Or I of his, my Lord, than you of mine."

20.

III. iv. 45. "To-morrow in mine opinion is too sudden."

Here the irregularity is very slight, but still it has been thought better to remove it. The Folio reads:—

"To-morrow in my judgment is too sudden."

21.

III. iv. 52. "When he doth bid good morrow with such a spirit." Again the Folio reduces the line to order by omitting 'a.'

22.

III. iv. 53, 54. "I think there is never a man in Christendom
That can lesser hide his love or hate than he."

This the editors do not justify, but they correct it by adopting the reading of the latest Quarto,—'less' for 'lesser;' in preference to that of the Folio, which simply omits 'that.'

23.

III. v. 108, 109. "And to give notice that no manner of person At any time have recourse unto the princes."

Both these lines the editors retain without alteration, rejecting the simple correction of the Folio, which makes the metre regular and smooth:—

"And to give order that no manner person Have any time recourse unto the princes."

Observe that this use of 'manner' without the preposition was quite common in Shakspere's time.

III. vi. 11. "Who's so gross
That sees not this palpable device?"

This line the editors were not prepared to justify. But they prefer their own conjecture—'seeth' for 'sees'—to the reading of the Folio; which is, "That cannot see," &c.

25.

III. vii. 3. "The citizens are mum and speak not a word."

The irregularity here is removed in the Folio by omitting 'and': "The citizens are mum, say not a word." But the editors retain it.

26.

III. vii. 35. "some followers of mine own,
At the lower end of the Hall, hurled up their caps."

The Folio reads—"At lower end," &c., a correction which comes nearer than any we have yet had to a sacrifice of grammar to a 'supposed defect of metre.'

27.

III. vii. 59. "My Lord he doth entreat your Grace."

A short line, for which the Folio substitutes a regular decasyllable:—

"He doth entreat your Grace, my noble Lord."

28.

III. vii. 70. "I'll tell him what you say, my Lord." The same defect: altered in the Folio to:—

"I'll signify so much unto him straight."

29.

III. vii. 82, 83. "Buck. I fear he will, how now Catesby, What says your Lord?"

Here the Folio corrects the metre of the first line, but leaves an irregularity in the second:—

"Buck. I fear he will. Here Catesby comes again. Now Catesby what says his Grace?"

I imagine that the corrector meant to strike out 'now' as well as 'how.' He has not cared to make the line full length; for, instead

of transferring to it the beginning of the next line, which is an alexandrine—

"My Lord, he wonders to what end you have assented"—
(as the editors have done), he gets rid of the two supernumerary syllables by striking out 'My Lord.'

30.

III. vii. 221. "Call them again, my Lord, and accept their suit."

This is retained in the Cambridge text. The Folio removes the supernumerary syllable by omitting the 'and':—

"Call them again sweet Prince; accept their suit."

31.

III. vii. 224. "Well, call them again. I am not made of stone."
The Folio omits 'Well.'

32.

III. vii. 227. "Cousin of Buckingham and you sage grave men."

Again the Folio brings the line within rule by omitting 'you.'

33.

III. vii. 240. "Long live Richard, England's royal king."
With this line, also, the editors are content. The Folio inserts 'King' before 'Richard,' and so makes it regular.

34.

IV. i. 18, 19. "Q. Eliz. The King, why who's that?

Buck. I cry you mercy: I mean the lord protector."

Here, again, the corrector prefers the normal verse :-

"Qu. The King! who's that?

Lieu. I mean the Lord Protector."

35.

IV. ii. 20. "What say'st thou? Speak suddenly: be brief."

Here the editors accept the reading of some of the later Quartos (distinguished otherwise by the greater number of errors),—'saiest'

for 'say'st,'-rejecting that of the Folio:-

"What say'st thou now? speak suddenly, be brief."

IV. ii. 36. "My Lord, I know a discontented gentleman."

This is a case of trisyllabic ending rather than an alexandrine. But it is an irregularity which the corrector could not allow. The Folio, as in other similar cases, leaves out 'my Lord.'

37.

IV. ii. 46-49. [Concerning this passage see above, p. 23, no. 46.]

38.

IV. ii. 50. "King. Catesby. Cat. My Lord. King. Rumour it abroad

That Anne my wife is sick and like to die."

For this the Folio substitutes:-

"Rich. Come hither Catesby—Rumour it abroad That Anne my wife is very grievous sick."

39.

IV. ii. 72. [See above, p. 25, no. 47.]

40.

IV. ii. 99. [98 Globe.] "As I remember, Henry the sixth"

'Henry' appears to have been used sometimes as a trisyllable. But the corrector did not like it. He substitutes:—

"I do remember me, Henry the Sixth."

41.

IV. ii. 122. "Tut, tut, thou troublest me. I am not in the vein." The editors, as usual, avoid the alexandrine by putting 'Tut, tut' in a line by itself. The Folio, as usual in like cases, simply leaves it out.

42.

IV. ii. 124. "rewards he my true service
With such deep contempt? Made I him King for this?"

Here, judging by the correction in the Folio, I should suppose that there must have been some confusion in the MS. from which the Quarto was printed. The Folio reads:—

"repays he my deep service With such contempt? Made I him king for this?" Shakspere may have written deep in the margin, meaning it as a substitute for true; and the printer may have thought that it was meant to be inserted in the next line. With printers such things are possible. But were it not that the Cambridge editors seem to have seen no objection to 'deep' where it stands in the Quarto, I should have thought it certain that no man with an ear for metrical effect ever put it there intentionally.

43

IV. iv. 263. "And mean to make her Queen of England."

I do not know whether Shakspere ever pronounced 'England' as a trisyllable. The corrector read it as a disyllable and corrected the metre accordingly:—

"And do intend to make her Queen of England."

44.

IV. iv. 268. "As one that are best acquainted with her humour."

The Folio substitutes 'being' for 'that are'; evidently to get rid of the redundant syllable. 'Being' was almost always treated as a monosyllable.

45.

IV. iv. 452. "What is't your Highness pleasure I shall do at Salisbury."

The editors regulate the metre here by putting 'at Salisbury' in a separate line: the Folio by reading:—

"What may it please you shall I do at Salisbury?"

46.

IV. iv. 456. "My mind is changed Sir: my mind is changed. How now what news with you?

This the editors retain without alteration, preferring it to the reading of the Folio:—

"My mind is changed. Stanley, what news with you?"

47.

IV. iv. 467. "Well, Sir, as you guess, as you guess?"

The Folio reads—"Well, as you guess?" leaving it a short line, but metrical as far as it goes.

IV. iv. 485. "Cold friends to Richard: What do they in the north?" This, in any of Shakspere's later plays, would be a common form of line: the redundant syllable, coming in the middle of the line immediately before a strong pause, drops, as it were, into the pause, and scarcely disturbs the measure more than the redundant syllable at the end of a line. But in the plays of the second period I think you will find very few such, and at the time when the inserted passages—the more considerable of them—were composed, I doubt whether Shakspere would have admitted them at all. To get rid of it here, 'Richard' is changed to 'me:'—

"Cold friends to me: What do they in the north?"

These are all the alterations belonging to this class that I have been able to find, besides those which the Cambridge editors have allowed to be Shaksperean by admitting them into their text. And without raising the question whether they are judicious or injudicious,—a question of taste which cannot be determined,—I think I may fairly ask in which of them the sense is spoiled for the sake of amending a supposed defect of metre; and also whether any one is prepared to maintain, even among those who most think the readings of the Quarto superior, that the superiority is so great, or of such a kind, as to make it certain that the alterations were not due to Shakspere?

III.

I now proceed to the next class,—alterations apparently made "to avoid the recurrence of the same word even where the recurrence adds to the force of the passage,"—a class with which, in the absence of specified examples, I cannot deal exhaustively, there being so many words altered in the neighbourhood of the same words, and so little to guide me to the cases in which force is supposed to be lost by the alteration. Suppose we take the first examples that come and examine them.

ALTERATIONS MADE TO AVOID THE RECURRENCE OF THE SAME WORD.

1.

I. ii. 11, 14. "Stabbed by the self-same hands that made these holes."

Holes altered in Folio to wounds. No doubt because

"Curst be the hand that made these fatal holes"

occurred only 3 lines below. But what force is lost by the alteration?

2.

I. ii. 76, 79. Evils changed to crimes (a better word, I think, and making a smoother verse) in 76, but not in 79, whereby it is true that some force is lost. This I have already mentioned among the alterations not likely to have been designed by Shakspere. See above, p. 6, no. 7.

3.

I. ii. 94. "Queen Margaret saw Thy bloody falchion smoking in his blood."

Bloody changed to murderous. But this alteration the editors accept.

4.

I. iii. 280, 282. "O princely Buckingham, I will kiss thy hand In sign of league and amity with thee. Now fair befall thee and thy princely house."

The last princely changed to noble. The alteration admitted.

5.

I. iii. 325—328. "The secret mischiefs that I set abroach
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
Clarence, whom I indeed have laid in darkness,"

Laid changed to cast: no doubt because of lay in the previous line. The alteration, though rejected in the Cambridge edition, is surely an improvement, the recurrence of the same word adding, in this case, no force whatever.

6.

I. iii. 354. "Your eyes drop millstones when fools' eyes drop tears."
The last drop changed to fall. And this may, perhaps, be one of the passages which suggested the editors' remark. If so, I cannot agree N. S SOC. TRANS. 1875.

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with them. I do not feel that any force is lost by the loss of the repetition.

7.

I. iv. 18. "Methought that Gloucester stumbled, and in stumbling Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard."

Stumbling changed to falling. The change admitted.

8

I. iv. 196. "Take heed; for he holds vengeance in his hands
[204 Globe.] To hurl upon their heads that break his law.
2. And that same vengeance doth he throw on thee."

Here the Folio reads in the last line hurl instead of throw. Had the change been the other way, I should have thought it a case in point. But as it is, the corrector clearly felt that the recurrence of the word added force to the passage. And the editors accept the correction.

9.

II. i. 9, 10. "By heaven my heart is purged from grudging hate And with my hand I seal my true heart's love."

In the Folio, *heart* in the first line is changed to *soul*. No doubt to avoid the recurrence of the same words, which, in this instance, adds no force; as the editors acknowledge, by accepting the correction.

10.

II. i. 33. "Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate On you or yours, but with all duteous love Doth cherish you and yours, God punish me With hate," &c.

Here the editors adhere to the Quarto; and I suppose, therefore, that they feel some force added to the passage by the recurrence of the phrase on you and yours. It does not appear to me to have any such effect, and the reading of the Folio, which substitutes upon your Grace for on you or yours in the second line (Buckingham being understood, according to Rowe's suggestion, to address the Queen), I call an improvement. Not so Pope's substitution of and not with for but with all. The clause is indeed hard to construe, and may perhaps be corrupt; but I rather think that "but....doth cherish"

is to be understood as equivalent to "instead of cherishing," and this would give the right meaning.

11.

II. ii. 41. "Why grow the branches now the root is withered? Why wither not the leaves, the sap being gone?"

I do not know whether the editors find any value in the repetition of the word wither. But I fancy the corrector observed that, as applied to the root, it was not the proper word, and removed it on that account. The Folio reads:—

"Why grow the branches when the root is gone? Why wither not the leaves that want their sap?"

Which seems to me to show no signs of an inferior hand, and to be, moreover, more like an author's correction than a critic's.

12.

II. iii. 5. "I fear, I fear 'twill prove a troublous world."9. "Then masters look to see a troublous world."

Though the editors retain both these lines unaltered, I think if they had observed the recurrence of the three last words within four lines of each other (and certainly without adding anything to the force of the passage) they would have accepted the change of troublous (in the first) to giddy: which is the reading of the Folio.

13.

III. ii. 8. "Mess. First he commends him to your noble lordship. Hast. And then? Mess. And then he sends you word He dreamt to night," &c.

To make the metre more regular, the corrector altered the messenger's second speech into:—

"Then certifies your Lordship that this night He dreamt," &c.

At the same time, to avoid the repetition of the word *Lordship* at so short an interval, he changed it (in the first line) to *self*:

"First he commends him to your noble self."

It is another case of an alteration to avoid the recurrence of the same word, but still it is not one in which the recurrence adds anything to the force of the passage: and these are what I am seeking for.

III. ii. 52. "Because they have been still mine enemies."

Here the Folio changes enemies to adversaries. Why? Because, only four lines above, the same word had occurred in the same position:—

"That this same very day your enemies
The kindred of the Queen must die at Pomfret."

15.

III. ii. 81. "And never in my life I do protest."

Life altered to days in the Folio. Why? Because in the line immediately preceding was written:—

"My Lord I hold my life as dear as yours."

These corrections are all rejected by the Cambridge editors. But I think it must have been from not observing the recurrence, not from thinking that it adds to the force of the passage.

16.

III. iv. 3—6. "In God's name say when is this royal day.
Buc. Are all things fitting for that royal time?
Dar. It is and wants but nomination.
Bish. Tomorrow then I guess a happy time."

Here we have several words changed, all evidently for the purpose of avoiding the too near recurrence of the same word or sound. In the first line say is changed to speak: no doubt to escape the jingle with day: and the editors accept it. Then, in the second line, fitting is changed to ready: the properer word, I think, though the editors reject it. The third is not altered; but in the fourth I judge a happy day is substituted for I guess a happy time; and this alteration the editors accept. It avoids the jingle with the second line; and though the passage would have borne more correction of the same kind for the same purpose, I think everybody will admit that the corrections are improvements as far as they go.

17.

III. v. 83, 84. "Even where his lustfull eye or savage heart Without control listed to make his prey."

The editors adhere to this reading; but the corrector apparently dis-

liked the effect of *lustful* and *listed* coming so near together, and changed it to:—

"Even where his raging eye"

[which was probably meant to be ranging, as Pope suggested]

"or savage heart

Without control lusted to make a prey."

18.

III. vii. 37. "Thanks loving citizens and friends, quoth I,

This general applause and loving shout
Argues your wisdoms and your loves to Richard."

Here, again, the corrector evidently disliked the effect of the recurring words, and therefore substituted gentle for the first loving, and cheerful for the second. The editors accept the first correction, but not the second. But whether because they did not observe the repetition of the word in the next line, or because they saw some value in it which is not perceptible to me, seems doubtful.

19.

III. vii. 239. "Then I salute you with this kingly title: Long live Richard, England's royal king."

This reading again the editors stand by, not feeling any objection either to the recurrence of kingly and king or to the defective metre of the second line—from which it seems to me most probable that king (before Richard) had been omitted by mistake. The corrector felt objections to both, and substituted royal for kingly in the first line; worthy for royal in the second, while he inserted king before Richard.

20.

IV. i. 76. "As miserable by the death of thee As thou hast made me by my dear Lord's death."

Here the Folio reads :-

"More miserable by the *life* of thee, Than thou hast made me by my dear Lord's death."

And the editors accept the correction of life for death. It certainly seems an improvement; and yet it is rather strange that in the

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corresponding passage (I. ii. 27), to which it directly refers, the same correction has not been made.

"If ever he have wife, let her be made As miserable by the *death* of him As I am made by my poor Lord and thee."

Where "as as" is corrected to "more than" and 'poor' to 'young,' but 'death' is left.

21.

IV. i. 88. "Q. El. Alas, poor soul, I pity thy complaints. Anne. No more than from my soul I mourn for yours."

Here the corrector disliked the recurrence of *soul*, and substituted in the first line,

"Poor heart, adieu! I pity thy complaining," and the editors accept the correction.

22.

IV. ii. 53. "Rumour it abroad That Anne my wife is sick and like to die."

> 59. "I say again give out That Anne my wife is sick and like to die."

For is sick and like to die in 1. 54, the Folio reads—is very grievous sick. A correction which the editors reject. The object of it was, no doubt, to vary the phrase; with a good effect, as it seems to me.

23.

IV. iv. 111. "Now thy proud neck bears half my burthen'd yoke; From which even here I slip my weary neck."

The Folio substitutes head for neck in the last line, to avoid the recurrence of the word; which the editors retain. To my ear the effect of the recurrence is bad.

24.

IV. iv. 178. "Let me march on and not offend your Grace."

The Folio reads, "and not offend you, Madam:" because line 175 ended with your Grace. The editors reject the correction; but I cannot see any value in the repetition.

25.

IV. iv. 378. "If thou hadst feared to break an oath by him,

The unity the king my brother made Had not been broken, nor my brother slain."

"My brother" (in the second line), though the reading of the first six Quartos, is plainly wrong. Queen Elizabeth is speaking, and the unity was made by the King her husband. The corrector, not perceiving any value in the repetition of the word 'brother,' substituted 'husband;' remembering also that Richard had slain more than one brother of hers, put the second 'brother' into the plural: and then observing the unpleasant effect of the final and the initial s meeting, changed 'slain' to 'died.'

"If thou didst fear to break an oath with Him, The unity the king my husband made Had not been broken, nor my brothers died."

The Cambridge editors, finding in the two latest Quartos 'thy' substituted for 'my' in the first line; and feeling, I suppose, some force in the opposition of 'thy brother' to 'my brother,' which they thought Shakspere would not have sacrificed, attribute all the alterations of the Folio to the hand of the supposed improver, and retain all the readings of the first Quarto, except the first 'my.

26

IV. iv. 422. "Qu. Eliz. But thou didst kill my children.

K. Rich. But in your daughter's womb I bury them."

The Folio changes the first but to yet; no doubt to avoid the recurrence of the same word at the beginning of the line, which the editors retain.

27.

IV. iv. 479. "No, mighty liege; therefore mistrust me not."

The Folio changes mighty liege to my good Lord. Liege has occurred twice within the last four lines. So, again, my liege, occurring both in line 519 and line 521, is altered in the first to my Lord.

28.

V. i. 25. "Now Margaret's curse is fallen upon my head:"

Head changed in Folio to neck; the line

"Hath turned my feigned prayer on my head"

having occurred only four lines above.

V. ii. 18. "To fight against that bloody homicide."

Bloody changed to guilty: the word having been used two lines before—

"By this one bloody trial of sharp war."

30.

V. iii. 6. "We must both give and take my gracious Lord." In the Folio a short speech has just been inserted, which was not in the Quarto:—

"Norf. Here most gracious liege:" and therefore gracious in line 6 is altered to loving.

31.

V. iii. 10. "Six or seven thousand is their greatest number."

Greatest number changed to utmost power: because the word number occurs in the line before. The alteration accepted.

32.

V. iii. 30, 40. "Good captain Blunt, bear my good night to him."

This line occurs in the Quarto in both these places and in exactly the same words, and the editors retain it. Yet it is difficult to believe that Shakspere would have allowed it to be repeated without any variation within 10 lines, if he had observed it; and in the Folio we find line 40 altered to—

"Sweet Blunt make some good means to speak with him" an alteration which surely has a right, if any has, to be received into the text.

33.

V. iii. 230. "Methought their souls whose bodies Richard murdered Came to my tent and cried on victory;
I promise you my soul is very jocund," &c.

In the last line the Folio reads heart for soul. If any force is to be derived from the recurrence of the word, it must be got by throwing the emphasis upon my, and so making Richmond's soul antithetic to the souls of Richard's victims. But no such antithesis could have been intended, and the two words having, in fact, no relation to each

other, their identity is a manifest blemish: a blemish easily over-looked in the course of rapid composition, but certain to be corrected as soon as it is observed. If the editors had noticed the recurrence I cannot think that they would have refused the correction.

Having now come to the end of my list, I think I may again ask how many, and which, of these alterations are so injurious to the sense or effect of the passages in which they occur, that we can be certain they were not made by Shakspere himself? That most of them might have been made by anybody else—the faults they were meant to correct being obvious, and the correction easy—is no doubt But here we have a corrected copy of the play, in which not less than 350 alterations are admitted (by implication) to be Shakspere's; and upwards of 850 others, not distinguishable from the rest by any outward mark, are assumed to be not Shakspere's. And I want to know why, if he made 350 alterations, I am to suppose that he did not make the other 850? The reason must be founded upon something in the nature of the alterations themselves; for unless they bear evidence of an unskilful hand betraying itself by its work, we have no reason to think that anybody else made any alteration in the manuscript whatever; and hitherto I have not met with any evidence of such unskilful hand which may not be probably imputed to want of skill or care in the printer or the transcriber.

IV.

ALTERATIONS MADE TO REMOVE OBSOLETE PHRASES.

Alterations made to remove obsolete phraseology can hardly help us in this matter; because, as I have already observed, a phrase that had fallen out of popular use would have seemed as unfit in Shakspere's eyes as in those of any supposed corrector to be used in the theatre. Not to add that the language of the theatre re-acts upon the language of conversation, and many of the changes which took place in common speech may have been brought into fashion by Shakspere himself. But as the modification of "certain turns of phrase and uses of words" which had "become obsolete in the time of the

corrector" is distinctly urged as one of the proofs of the intervention of the supposed corrector, it may be well to give a few examples.

The earliest news we hear of an improved edition of Richard III. is in the title-page of the Quarto of 1602, upon which it is announced as 'newly augmented,' and though it was a false announcement,—no augmentations being found either in that or any of the subsequent Quartos,—it affords some reason for supposing that there had been at that time a promise, or an expectation, or at least a rumour, of an improved copy, and that Shakspere may have been really at work upon it. The style of the inserted speeches belongs, I should say, to that time, or not long before:—a time when Shakspere's versification was still growing smoother, sweeter, and more regular, and variety was sought through the skilful distribution of accent and pause, without trespassing upon the normal law of the five-measure line. And if the corrections were made at the same time, which seems likely, they are generally such as might have been expected.

- 1. Which is almost always changed to that; betwixt to between; whilst to while or when. But these changes I should attribute rather to the increasing niceness of the poet's ear than to any new fashion of speech. Shakspere wanted to get rid of the harsh consonants and sibilants.
- 2. Another change, which is made, I think, invariably, requires a different explanation; for it substitutes the harsher combination for the smoother. The corrector evidently had an insuperable
- ¹ To show how much room there was for improvement in that way and within these limits, compare any of the passages quoted in this paper, or any others that can be found in the play, with the following lines in *Macbeth*, supposed to have been written about 1605.

"Macduff. Stands Scotland where it did?
Rosse. Alas, poor country!
Almost afraid to know itself. It cannot
Be called our Mother, but our Grave; where nothing
But who knows nothing is once seen to smile:
Where sighs, and groans, and shrieks that rent the air
Are made, not mark'd; where violent sorrow seems
A modern ecstasy: the dead man's knell
Is there scarce ask'd for who, and good man's lives
Expire before the flowers in their caps,
Dying or ere they sicken."

objection to the use of wert as a second person singular. The Quarto always reads 'thou wert:' the Folio always substitutes 'thou wast.' I do not think this can have been due to a change of fashion, for the fashion has prevailed against the grammarian, and 'thou wert' still keeps its place in poetry; where only it can now occur; 'thou' being obsolete for prose. But it seems to me not improbable that Shakspere had been referred to the grammar, and finding there 'I was: Thou wast,' had resolved to follow the rule.

3. The substitution of I (aye) for yea, which is also, I think, invariable; of more or other for moe; and of you for thou (which is frequent, even where there is no change from singular to plural), is probably due to changes of fashion. But these modifications never involve any disturbance either of sense or metre, from which it can be inferred that they did not proceed from the author; and I doubt whether the number could be much increased even by a more diligent search than the question deserves. Still, therefore, I fail to find evidence of the intervention of an inferior hand; and even if it can be shown that Shakspere's later works contain many examples of the very same things for which the corrector shows distaste, I should not on that account feel justified in concluding that he was not himself the corrector. If he found that, in spite of the grammarians, the people continued to say 'thou wert,' and liked it better than 'thou wast,' he might naturally return to his former practice. He probably liked it better himself. And, again, if he found, after carrying blank verse to the highest perfection that was obtainable through smoothness and sweetness and such variety as could be combined with them, that he could produce finer effects by a due intermixture of irregularities and harshnesses—as in the management of his metre he undoubtedly did-he would naturally return again to the use of sibilants and congested consonants. The question is whether these alterations were better or worse for the style of versification which he was cultivating when he made them. I think they were for the better. He had not exhausted the capabilities of that He had not yet begun to teach his blank-verse the great paces of which he afterwards found it capable, and in the paces to which he was then training it, it was not yet perfect.

Of the alterations which, not being referable to any of the above heads,—not explicable as attempts either to correct supposed defects of metre, or to avoid recurrence of words, or to remove obsolete words and phrases,—are described as 'arbitrary,' that is, made for no apparent reason, it is not necessary to say much. I have already noticed all of them that seem to me to be such as Shakspere would not have authorized; and the Cambridge editors, being bound by their principle to prefer the reading of the Quarto wherever they do not think that of the Folio not only better but so much better as to bear in itself evidence of Shakspere's hand, are not to be understood as meaning more by rejecting them than that such evidence is wanting. But as the question with me is still whether all these alterations ('errors of pen and press apart') were not of his hand, I will give a few examples of such as, in my opinion, he would have authorized; still making my selection from those which the editors have rejected.

V.

ALTERATIONS MADE TO REMOVE DEFECTS NOT APPARENT TO THE EDITORS.

To understand in all cases why Shakspere liked one word or arrangement of words better than another is more than anybody can expect. He had fancies of his own, and saw and felt innumerable things which we cannot see and feel. But it sometimes happens that the reason is plain enough.

1.

I. ii. 172. "Teach not thy lips such scorn; for they were made For kissing, Lady," &c.

The Folio reads:-

"Teach not thy lip such scorn, for it was made" no doubt because s at the end of lips meeting s at the beginning of such was disagreeable to speak and hear.

2.

I. iii. 67. "Against my kindred, brothers, and myself."

The Folio reads children for kindred. I suppose because 'kindred' includes 'brothers.' Dorset and Grey were her children, Rivers and Woodville her brothers.

3.

I. iii. 109. "To be thus taunted, scorned, and baited at:"
The Folio reads:—

"To be thus baited, scorned, and stormed at:"

to 'bait at' a thing being, I presume, an unwarranted expression. The bear was baited, not baited at.

4.

I. iii. 320. "Cutes. Madam his majesty doth call for you;
And for your Grace, and you my noble Lo:
Q. Eliz. Catesby we come. Lords will you go with us?
Riv. Madam we will attend your grace."

Here the Folio makes several small changes; for the purpose, I think, of distinguishing the parts more clearly. There remain on the stage, after old Queen Margaret's exit, the Queen, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Rivers, Lord Grey, Lord Derby (who should have been called Lord Stanley), Lord Dorset, and Lord Hastings. As the message is worded in the Quarto, one of the Dukes is left out; ¹ the Queen, to whom it is addressed, answers for all, and Lord Rivers speaks in the name of the other Lords. The Folio puts it thus:—

"And for your Grace, and yours my gracious Lord.

Qu. Catesby I come. Lords will you go with me?

Riv. We wait upon your grace."

Thus Catesby delivers the invitation to both the Dukes; and the Queen turns to the other Lords and invites them to accompany her; addressing herself probably more directly to her brother, Lord Rivers, who answers. It is a small thing, but it has been done on purpose, and, I think, varies and enlivens the action.

¹ It is true that the Duke of Buckingham had just come from the King, which may account for the reading of the Quarto. In revising the MS. afterwards, the author himself might have forgotten that circumstance, and made the alteration for the reason which I (not remembering it at the time) have suggested.

I. iv. 54. "A shadow like an angel, with bright hair Dabbled in blood, and he squeakt out aloud, Clarence is come," &c.

The Folio substitutes shrieked for squeakt; because no doubt the word had already begun to lose the tragic character which it once had, and to be unfit for such associations. Its unfitness would be felt at once by every Englishman now living. The correction, whoever made it, proves that it had begun to be felt then; and if the word had any part of the effect on an English ear which it has now, Shakspere would surely have avoided it.

6.

II. iv. 48. "Why or for what these nobles were committed Is all unknown to me, my gracious lady."

Here we have, unquestionably, a mistake. For the speaker is answering a question asked by the Cardinal. The Folio removes it by putting lord for lady, which seems to be all that is wanted. The Cambridge editors retain the reading of the Quarto, and make it consistent by transferring the question to the Queen. Why they did so, being against the authority of the Quarto as well as the Folio, I cannot guess. The rule of preferring the Quarto to the Folio cæteris paribus (Preface, p. xviii.) cannot apply to cases in which the Folio requires no correction, and the Quarto cannot be followed without one.

7.

II. iv. 53. "Welcome destruction death and massacre."

Death is changed in the Folio to blood, the three words being too nearly alike in meaning.

So IV. iv. 162, "God knows in anguish, pain, and agony," is changed to "God knows in torment and in agony;" pain being a weak word to stand between anguish and agony.

8.

III. iii. 15. "Now Margaret's curse is fallen upon our heads For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son."

Here we have in the Folio, not an alteration, but a restoration. Though the meaning of these lines is plain enough, there is a singularity in the construction which indicates an error of some kind. According to the ordinary construction of these early historical plays, which is always simple and straightforward, it would be their heads that 'stood by.' The Folio shows that the error was the common one of a line omitted:—

"When she exclaimed on Hastings, you, and I, For standing by," &c.

This is one of the two cases in which the Cambridge editors have refused to accept from the Folio an *insertion*. In the other case (II. i. 67) they explain their reason. I should like to know their reason in this case.

9.

III. iv. 4. "Are all things fitting for that royal time?"

The alteration made by the Folio in this line—

"Is all things ready for the royal time"—

I have set down among those which cannot have been designed by Shakspere. While things remained in the plural I do not think are would have been deliberately changed to is either by the poet himself or by his nameless corrector. But I am not sure that all thing may not have been at one time a candidate for admission into the language in the sense of everything: and if this is possible, I should conjecture that the corrector meant to change things to thing at the same time that he changed are to is. Ready for fitting gets rid of one of the ings, and so improves the movement.

10.

III. iv. 92. "I now repent I told the pursuivant, As 'twere triumphing at mine enemies, How they at Pomfret bloodily were butchered."

The alteration here, though a slight one, is noticeable as an example of the gradual change which was taking place in Shakspere's management of his blank verse. The monotony of the regularly recurring accent and pause was beginning to be wearisome, and a variation of their place in the line was the first device by which he endeavoured to avoid it; an art, the practice and cultivation of which gave him a great deal of work before he assumed the larger liberties which

characterized the versification of his later plays, and remain to show (as used in them) the noblest effects of which the metre has yet been found capable. The three lines quoted above, as they stand in the Quarto, are a good specimen of the earlier style, and by no means remarkable for monotony: and yet I see no difficulty in understanding why Shakspere—indeed the difficulty is less if it were he than if it were a nameless transcriber writing before 1623—altered them to the following:—

"I now repent I told the pursuivant,
As too triumphing, how mine enemies
Today at Pomfret bloodily were butchered."

11.

IV. i. 85. "But have been waked by his timorous dreams."

Here is another example of Shakspere's progress in the management of his verse. In substituting—

"But with his timorous dreams was still awaked"—

is it not obvious that he was substituting a stronger for a weaker line? And if it be read along with the preceding lines, the value of the change will be much more conspicuous.

12.

IV. iii. 22. "To bring this tidings to the bloody king."

The Folio substitutes bear for bring. Why? No doubt to get rid of the jingle between bring and king: not to mention the ing in 'tidings.'

13.

IV. iii. 35. "Farewell till soon."

The Folio substitutes 'till then.' I presume, because soon was an error of the press. It had been used just before, and 'then' meant 'soon.'

14.

IV. iii. 42. "And by that knot looks proudly o'er the crown."

The Folio substitutes on for o'er. I suppose, because the meaning was that Richmond looked up to the crown; and to 'look o'er' did not mean to 'look up to.'

IV. iv. 76. "Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,
To have him suddenly conveyed away."

The Folio reads—'conveyed from hence:' no doubt to avoid the rhyme with 'pray.'

16.

IV. iv. 382. "The imperial metal circling now thy brow."

Brow changed in Folio to head: to avoid the jingle between brow and now.

17.

IV. iv. 397. "As I intend to prosper and repent, So thrive I in my dangerous attempt Of hostile arms."

Attempt changed in Folio to affairs: to avoid the jingle with 'repent' in the last line.

18.

IV. iv. 487. "They have not been commanded, mighty sovereign." Sovereign changed in Folio to King. The word 'sovereign' having occurred in the line immediately preceding.

19.

IV. iv. 507. "Flock to their aid, and still their power increaseth."

Here the Folio reads:—

"Flock to the rebels, and their power grows strong;" probably because "Is in the field and still his power increaseth" has occurred in the scene before. See IV. iii. 48.

VI.

ALTERATIONS IN THE STAGE-DIRECTIONS.

I have already given some reasons for suspecting that the revision of the play was never completed, and I find some confirmation of the suspicion in the state of the stage-directions. Though the stage-directions in the Folio differ very much from those in the Quarto (being generally both fuller and more accurate), they are not reduced to perfect consistency. This is notably the case with regard to the

name of Lord Stanley. "The Lord Stanley that was after Earl of Darbie"—so Sir T. More introduces him in the history of Edward V. and Richard III., which Shakspere follows closely—makes his first entrance in the third Scene of the first Act, where he is announced and addressed throughout the Scene (according to both Quarto and Folio) as my Lord of Derby. In the first Scene of the second Act he appears again, and, though not addressed by his name in the dialogue, is described in both as Darbie, or Earl of Derby. So also in the second Scene of the same Act, he appears in the stage-direction of the Folio (in the Quarto he is not mentioned by name) as Derby. Thus far, therefore, the two copies substantially agree, and present no difficulty beyond the ordinary anachronism of calling a man by his last title at a time when he did not yet bear it.

But in the first Scene of the third Act we find Richard asking Catesby what he thinks Stanley will do. In the second "a messenger from the Lord Stanley" knocks at Hastings's door; and shortly after we have (in both copies) "enter Lord Stanley: and his speeches are distinguished by the letters Sta. From which it might seem that the writer had bethought himself of the anachronism and corrected it. But then, again, in the fourth Scene of the same Act we find Darby mentioned among the Lords going to the council, and his speeches distinguished by Dar., and yet a little later in the same Scene, Hastings, recalling his warning dream, calls him Stanley again: and in the first Scene of the next Act we have the entrance of Stanley in the stage-direction of both copies. So far, therefore, the Quarto and the Folio agree in their inconsistency, and no inference can be drawn in favour of the authority of either. During the next two Scenes they differ. In Act IV. Scene ii. the Quarto announces the entrance of Darby, and prints Dar. before his first and only speech (though Richard addresses him throughout the Scene as Stanley): and in Scene iii. again repeats the same thing. Darby enters, and Dar. speaks. What Richard would have called him we do not know, for he is not addressed in this Scene by name. The Folio, on the contrary, adheres to the name Stanley throughout these two Scenes. Lord Stanley enters. Stanley speaks, and is spoken to by the name of Stanley. All which looks like careful correction, only that it has not extended to the earlier Scenes. But when we come to the last Scene of the fourth Act we find the two copies agreeing again and agreeing in the inconsistency between the stage-directions and the text. In Act IV. Sc. iv. Derby enters, and Dar. or Der. speaks, according to both Quarto and Folio. In Act V. Sc. ii. Richmond (in both copies) speaks of the letters he has received from his father Stanley, and asks where Lord Stanley is quartered. Later in the same Scene Derby (in both copies) "enters to Richmond in his tent," and his speeches have Der. or Dar. prefixed. Later still, Richard orders them (in both copies) to call up Lord Stanley, and asks whether Lord Stanley will bring his power. And finally, after Richard's death, "Derby bearing the crown" enters with Richmond, and his speeches are distinguished as before by Dar. in the Quarto and Der. in the Folio. All which looks like the result of very careless or very incomplete correction.

If the Quarto had kept to *Darby* all through, the explanation would have been comparatively easy. I should have thought that the corrector of the Folio had observed the anachronism and meant to remove it; that he had begun his work of correction in the third Act, and had completed it for the remainder, as far as the dialogue was concerned; but that he had forgotten or postponed the two first Acts, and had not attended to the stage-directions and marginal names in the two last. For it is to be observed that Stanley is never called Derby in the dialogue, after the second Act.

The chief difficulty arises from the third Act, as it stands in the Quarto. Before the original MS, was in the condition in which it went to the printer in 1597, the author must have been aware of his error as to Lord Stanley's title, and taken some pains to avoid or correct it: and even if we suppose that the sheets containing the first two Acts had been printed off before the discovery, we have to explain how it happened that he did not continue his correction to the end: for we find that in the second Scene of the fourth Act he relapses again into Darby. And though that fact might be accounted for in the same way in which I have attempted to account for the inconsistencies of the Folio, it is hardly likely that the very same accident should have happened twice over in the same case. But

however that may be, it seems certain that if the last corrector had finished his work he would have changed *Derby* to *Stanley* in the dialogue of the first two Acts and in the stage-directions throughout the play; nor can there be much doubt that if Shakspere was aware of the inconsistency, he would have removed it in that way, before he let it go to the printer.

It is hardly necessary to observe that the existence of uncorrected faults in the early Scenes is not inconsistent with the supposition that they had been allowed to remain only because the work of correction was left incomplete. There is no reason to assume that the corrector would begin at the beginning and go straight through. Lord Stanley's part is very slight, and, until the beginning of the third Act, not at all conspicuous. The Scenes in which he appeared before might easily have been forgotten or left to Indeed, it is utterly hopeless to guess in what order a man would naturally proceed in a work of that kind. Either importance or want of importance might be a motive for postponement; and Shakspere himself, after he had abandoned the intention of giving or selling to Andrew Wise a corrected and augmented copy of the play, was quite as likely as any correcting critic to put the unfinished MS. in a drawer and leave it there. He had already taken more trouble with it than I should have expected, and I am sorry to see so much of it dismissed to take its place among the various readings in the footnotes, as work not worthy of his hand.

Unless some better reason can be shown than we have yet seen, for imputing an indefinite number of these alterations to this nameless critic, it is evident that the rival claims of the Quarto and Folio ought to stand on an entirely different footing. Shakspere himself having certainly had some hand in the corrections, and nobody else being known to have had any, the *presumption* should be in favour of the Folio. 'Cæteris paribus,'—in the absence of some special reason to the contrary,—an editor should prefer its readings to those of the Quarto; and this, even allowing it to be assumed that the text of the Quarto, "errors of pen and press apart, certainly came from the hand of Shakspere" (Preface, p. xviii.); that is, I presume, that it had not been touched by any other hand; an assumption, by the

way, the justice of which is by no means obvious to me. Nor is it for the dialogue only that its authority should be preferred. The alterations in the stage-directions (which are no ordinary player's work, though the work of one well acquainted with stage-effect) ought also, in my opinion, to be adopted, wherever they are not open to any definite objection. They are made, for the most part, with care; and sometimes they appear to be meant to restore the author's original design, which the company had not been strong enough to carry out.

This is notably the case in the Scene before the murder of Clarence. When he first appears, he is going to the Tower in the custody of the Lieutenant, whom he always addresses by his name-Brakenbury. In the subsequent Scene, where he relates his dream, he is still attended (according to the Quarto) by Brakenbury, and once (it is true) addresses him by his name, but once also he calls him 'keeper.' Now it is easier to explain how the name of Brakenbury got into the text, supposing the keeper to have been originally meant to be another man, than how 'keeper' got in, supposing that he was originally meant to be the Lieutenant of the Tower. Mr Grant White suggests, the company was not strong enough to supply two actors for the two parts, both would be given to the actor who played Brakenbury; and in the play-house copy the stage-directions would be altered accordingly. The introduction of the name in the dialogue would follow of course; the actor himself would feel the necessity of it. The wonder is that it was not introduced in both places, instead of only one. But I think it may be set down, if not as certain, at least as more certain than most of our conclusions in these doubtful matters, that if, in the original manuscript, the person in charge of Clarence had been meant to be the Lieutenant of the Tower, the line-

"I pray thee, gentle keeper, stay by me"—would not have been found in the first Quarto.

That question, however, is of little consequence. For (whether it were by way of removing a change for the worse or introducing a change for the better) there can be no doubt that the last corrector wished Clarence's attendant in that Scene to be taken for another

and an inferior officer. For he has changed 'Brakenbury' (or Brokenbury, as it is spelt in the Quarto) to 'keeper' in no less than six several places; and marked in conspicuous characters the place where 'Brakenbury the Lieutenant' is to 'enter,' which is immediately after Clarence falls asleep, and before the murderers come in. He has indeed omitted to insert exit keeper, but that is clearly an "error of press or pen;" the context showing conclusively that the 'keeper' is supposed to retire upon the entrance of his chief.

Upon the principle of following the Folio where its readings are open to no definite objection, this is an alteration which would certainly be adopted: for no objection of any kind is suggested. "On the whole," say the editors (Note v., p. 639), "we have decided to adhere to the Quartos, as they undoubtedly give what Shakspere originally wrote, and the alteration found in the Folios is not of such obvious propriety that we should unhesitatingly attribute it to the hand of the author." In answer to this, it might be enough to ask whose hand was so likely to have made such an alteration, and what reason is there for doubting that this should be added to the other 350 which they admit to be his? But let me say a word upon the assumption involved in the clause which I have distinguished by italics. If we had a copy of Shakspere's first draft which we were sure was correct, and a copy of a second the correctness of which we were not so sure of, the first would be entitled to preference in all doubtful cases: the doubtful cases being those in which the reading of the second draft involved some difficulty. But how are we more sure that the Quarto contains a correct copy of the manuscript of Richard III. as first written, than that the Folio contains a correct copy of it as afterwards altered? Will it be said that the manuscript printed in 1597 cannot have been 'tampered with'-whereas the corrected copy (having certainly been in other hands) may? But how do I know that the original manuscript had not been tampered with? It was the property of the theatre. It was not published with Shakspere's name, which had not yet acquired reputation enough to be worth printing on a title-page. What more likely than that the first plays which he furnished to the company were submitted for criticism and correction to their more experienced and best reputed play-wrights, and underwent improvements according to their judgment? What less likely than that any man coming into possession after Shakspere's death, when his reputation as a dramatic writer stood higher than anybody's, of an "original MS., revised by himself, with corrections and additions, interlinear, marginal, and on inserted leaves," should have set himself to correct it over again—not in a difficult or corrupt passage here or there, where there seemed to be an error—but in all the minutest details of composition from beginning to end—just as a diligent tutor might deal with his pupil's exercise? After the Restoration, when everybody thought that Shakspere's style needed improvement and that anybody could supply it, such a thing might easily happen. But in this case it must have been done before 1623, when the race of improvers were still in the cradle. Of the two, surely the earlier work was the most likely to have suffered correction by another hand.

Another difference between the stage-directions of the Quarto and Folio, in which, if either is to be ascribed to the players, it must be that of the Quarto, will be found in the first Scene of the 5th Act; where Buckingham is led to execution, in the Quarto by Ratcliffe, in the Folio by the Sheriff. From his addressing his conductors as 'fellows,' I should infer that the reading of the Folio was the original; for considering Buckingham's relations with Ratcliffe, he would have called him by his name. But the company had Ratcliffe ready, and could not spare another man, and the stage-direction represented the stage-arrangement. In this case the Cambridge editors accept the correction.

It is less easy to understand how the difference arose as to the persons charged with the beheading of Hastings (III. iv.) though the reading of the Folio is again a clear correction of an error in the Quarto. In the Quarto, Richard gives the order, "Some see it done;" and Catesby remains to carry it out. In the Folio, Richard's order is, "Lovell and Ratcliffe look that it be done;" and Lovell and Ratcliffe accordingly take him to the block, and return to Richard in the next Scene with his head. The reason for making this change is obvious enough; for Catesby, according to the Quarto itself, is in two places at the same time; not merely in two places so distant from each

other that he could not by any known conveyance have passed from one to the other within the time supposed (which was Ratcliffe's case, and which I hold to be legitimate as long as the impossibility is not brought home to the spectator's imagination)—but in two places both within the sight of the spectators and visible at the same time. He had at the same time to be with Richard on the walls of the tower, and to enter with Hastings's head.

"Glo. Catesby, o'er look the walls.

Buc. Hush! I hear a drum.

Glo. Look back, defend thee, here are enemies.

Buc. God and our innocency defend us.

Glo. O, O, be quiet, it is Catesby.

Enter Catesby with Hastings's head."

This cannot have been intended. The puzzle is to understand how it came about. For Ratcliffe was ready, and Catesby was wanted to go and bring the Lord Mayor; and therefore it cannot be accounted for as an alteration made for the convenience of the actors. There is, however, one reason for thinking that it was not Shakspere's original intention to assign that office to Catesby. Up to that morning, Hastings had considered Catesby as his own confidential friend acting altogether in his interest.

"Bid him not fear the separated councils.

His honour and myself are at the one,
And at the other is my servant Catesby:
Where nothing can proceed that toucheth us
Whereof I shall not have intelligence." (III. ii. 20, Quarto
version.) I cannot think that Shakspere would have made this
same Catesby carry Hastings to the block the same afternoon, without some notice taken on one side or the other of this peculiar relation. And yet Hastings is made to treat him like an ordinary
official to whom he has nothing to say, and all that Catesby is made
to say to him is—

"Despatch, my Lord, the Duke would be at dinner, Make a short shrift, he longs to see your head."

With Ratcliffe, on the contrary, a man not known to Hastings for anything that appears, such language was natural, and in accordance with his traditional character—"short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behaviour, bold in mischief, and as far from pity as from all fear of God." The substitution for Catesby, therefore, of Lovell and Ratcliffe removes all difficulties. When Catesby is told to "o'er-look the walls" he has just arrived within them, bringing the Lord Mayor with him: and the enemies whom Richard pretended to be on his guard against turn out friends.

"Be patient, they are friends, Ratcliffe and Lovell."

An objection has indeed been taken to the employment of Ratcliffe in this office, on the ground that he had been employed just before in leading Rivers, Vaughan, and Gray to execution at Pomfret; and as both executions are represented as happening on the same day, he could not have officiated at both, considering the distance of Pomfret from London. But this is to cramp the legitimate liberty of the theatre. There is nothing in the previous Scene to bring before the spectators' imagination the distance of Pomfret from London: and all physical impossibilities are allowable in a play, which do not shock the imagination.

It appears therefore that a comparison of the stage-directions leads to the same conclusion as that of the texts. The alterations in the Folio have been made with a view to dramatic effect by some one who understood its value, and not to the actual conditions of the performance, which depended upon the strength of the company. If we are to choose between the two, therefore, we must surely take the stage-directions in the Folio as most probably representing the stage-arrangements which Shakspere intended.

Let me now sum up the results to which this inquiry has conducted me.

The question was, which is the best authority for the text of Richard III. The argument of the Cambridge editors in favour of the Quarto as preferable to the Folio rests, as I understand it, upon the following considerations:—

1. The Quarto contains passages which, though "essential to the understanding of the context," are not found in the Folio. The corrector therefore who removed them cannot have been the author.

2. Many of the alterations introduced in the Folio are such as Shakspere would not have made: there being some in which the force of the passage is sacrificed only to avoid the repetition of the same word in it: some in which the sense is spoiled, only to remove a supposed defect of metre: some in which the change has been made only to get rid of a word or phrase that had become unfashionable: some in which "the earlier form is the more terse, and therefore not likely to have been altered by its author."

I have collected all the cases I could find which might seem to come under any of these heads; and I have found none which seem to me to justify the conclusion. I have found that the passages, which, though essential to the understanding of the context, are omitted in the Folio, have been apparently omitted through accidents over which the corrector had no control, -accidents such as are either known to happen frequently or may easily have happened in the particular case. Among the alterations made to avoid the repetition of the same word, I have found scarcely one by which any force appears to me to be lost,-scarcely one by which a perceptible blemish is not removed. Among those made to correct the metre, I have not found any which spoil the sense,—scarcely any by which the metre is not mended. Among those made to get rid of obsolete words, I have not found any in which the word to be got rid of is not one that may probably have become distasteful to Shakspere Of cases in which the 'terser' form has been exchanged for one less terse I have not met with any which I recognized as answering the description; nor have I been able to perceive any other reason for refusing to believe that the text of the Folio (errors being corrected or allowed for) represents the result of Shakspere's own latest revision, and approaches nearest to the form in which he wished it to stand. Upon the whole, therefore, I conclude that where express reason cannot be shown to the contrary, the readings of the Folio ought always to be preferred.

NOTE.

Since this paper was written and sent to the printer, I have been told that the question was investigated some years ago by Professor

Delius, upon a plan somewhat similar, and that his conclusion is still more at variance with that of the Cambridge editors than mine. According to him, the text has indeed been tampered with by a nameless corrector, but his work is to be looked for in the Quarto,—not in the Folio. Prof. Delius thinks that the differences between the two are due to alterations made by this corrector in the original manuscript before it went to the printer in 1597: and that it appears in the Folio (except in a few places) as it was before the corrector meddled with it. If this can be made out, a comparison of the two copies can give us no light as to the progressive changes in Shakspere's taste and style: though the fact that the copy in the Folio dates as early as 1597 would be of some value in that inquiry.

P.S. Mr Fleay states that he finds 28 six-feet lines in the Quarto of *Richard III*, and 9 in the Folio.

MR MATTHEW said:—Professor Delius, who is now in London, and present at our Meeting to-night, has kindly sent me a copy of a paper on this subject, contributed by him to the Year-book of the German Shakspere Society for 1872. His view differs more than Mr Spedding's from that of the Cambridge editors. He thinks that we have in the Folio (allowing for mistakes) not only the genuine, but the original text of Shakspere, as it was always spoken on the stage, and preserved in the theatre-library. The Quarto represents the same text, obtained clandestinely, and amended or patched up by some unknown person for the pirate-publisher.

Professor Delius's paper goes into detail almost as much as Mr Spedding's, so that I cannot do more than indicate the leading grounds for a conclusion which will, I think, commend itself to many. It must be understood that almost everything I say is taken

from Professor Delius.

In the first place it is difficult to believe that Shakspere can ever have gone through a play making such alterations as those to which Mr Spedding has called our attention. Scarcely any of these, as you will have noticed, bear upon the action of the play. It is easy to imagine that after representation it might be found advisable to cut out or add a passage here and there; but a series of merely verbal alterations would serve no end but to bother the actors who had already learned their parts. Such changes may be made for the printer, not for the stage.

The most important difference in the two editions lies in the

¹ In the German Shakspere Society's Jahrbuch, vol. vii.

many lines which are in the Folio, but not in the Quarto. The genuineness of these lines is practically admitted by the Cambridge editors, so that on this point the only question is whether they are later additions, or original lines omitted in the careless editing of the 4to. Many of them are so interwoven with the context, that it is difficult to suppose them later insertions, especially when, as so often happens, the omission is but of one or two lines. For the most part there is no argument to be used, save an appeal to the critical sense; and I can only ask you to go through the list given by Mr Spedding in p. 35, and judge for yourselves. In one or two instances, however, distinct reasons may be given for supposing that the lines omitted from the 4to were originally in the play.

1. Act II. s. ii. l. 123-140. The words "with some little train" (l. 120) are clearly written with reference to what follows. It is impossible to believe that they were at first put in without any special purpose, and that, later, Shakspere caught at this chance expression, and hung to it a score of lines which do not help the action, and that in a play already above the average length. Qn the other hand, the lines might well be left out in acting to shorten

the play, and thus perhaps they escaped the pirate.

In two passages—

I. ii. 155, 167-"These eyes which never shed remorseful tear," &c.,

and I. iii. 167-169-"Wert thou not banished on pain of death,"

we have references connecting this with the earlier plays of Henry VI. When after a time this play had become far more popular than others of the series, these references might well be left out: they were very

unlikely to be added then.

III. vii. 144-153. "If not to answer, you might haply think," &c. This passage, which is not in the 4to, comes from the chronicle. Its absence, you will see, leaves an awkward gap in Gloucester's speech, and it is inconceivable that the poet should first leave such a gap, and then after feeling it have to turn to his chronicle for material to supply it.

If this be allowed (as I think it must be) we nave one case of omission proved against the 4to, and it is needless to insist how

much this increases the probability of there being others.

The difference as to Stony Stratford (discussed by Mr Spedding, p. 19) is very significant. We know that Shakspere must have worked often with his authorities open before him, since whole speeches come almost directly from the chronicles or Plutarch. The Folio reading is natural enough if we suppose it to have arisen thus, as is the 4to correction. That the Folio reading should be an independent correction from the 4to, made only for the sake of metre, seems to me most improbable.

It is unnecessary to follow Mr Spedding through his later sections.

Whatever he has advanced there tells almost as much in favour of Professor Delius's theory as of his own. I could add to his examples from the Professor's paper, but this would be of little use.

I will notice only two points more, which, though small, are

significant.

"whet me I. iii. 332 (Spedding, p. 11): To be revenged on Rivers, Dorset, Gray."

These are the names most likely to have been used by Shakspere in speaking of the queen's 'allies'; but a corrector or careless copyist, who knew that Vaughan was executed with Rivers and Gray, might easily have slipped his name in here.

"more miserable by the life of him." IV. i. 76.

Mr Spedding (p. 53) prefers this reading, but thinks it strange that in the corresponding passage, I. ii. 27, "the same correction has not been made." The reason is, I think, obvious. In the fourth Act Anne has become Richard's wife, and knows that she is more miserable by his life than by his death. This appropriate change of expression is more likely to have come from the writer when his imagination was heated in composition, than to have suggested itself to his judgment in the quiet process of correction.

F. D. MATTHEW.

ON THE QUARTO AND THE FOLIO OF RICHARD III.

BY EDWARD H. PICKERSGILL, ESQ., B.A., LONDON.

I PROPOSE to investigate the relation between the Quarto and the Folio of Richard III., with reference to Mr Spedding's Paper. I had already made a minute comparison of the two versions of the play. before I was even aware of the position which he maintains; and I had arrived at the following conclusions: first, that there is ample internal evidence to justify the belief of the Cambridge editors that the play, as we have it in the Folio edition, has undergone revision by an unauthorized corrector; secondly, that this corrector took as the basis of his operations a copy of the play as it was once for all written by Shakspere, but that occasionally, when from some cause or other this copy failed him, he had recourse to the third Quarto; and thirdly, that the first Quarto was printed, with a vast number of blunders, from the actors' copy, which omitted the passages found only in the Folio (or at all events the longer of these) for the sake of shortening the play in representation. After traversing the same ground again under the guidance of Mr Spedding's Paper, I find that

1 Mr Pickersgill having, at Mr Aldis Wright's request, expanded the remarks he made at the Discussion, they are put in the form of a separate Paper.-F.

my faith in these conclusions is not at all shaken, but, on the contrary, very much confirmed. Mr Spedding's opinion, however, is undoubtedly entitled to the respectful consideration of all Shaksperian students; and therefore I propose, in the first place, to take up the challenge which he throws down to "those who agree with the Cambridge editors," to produce the evidence upon which they rely for the first of the conclusions stated above; and afterwards, to endeavour to establish the second and third of my conclusions, which, at least in their present precise form, are, I believe, original. It will be observed that by adopting the belief that Shakspere never revised his play at all, I shall escape the force of an objection which Mr Spedding again and again in the course of his Paper urges against the Cambridge editors: namely, that "as all the inserted passages, and a great many of the corrections, are admitted to be Shakspere's own, the presumption in all cases (till special reason be shown to the contrary) must be that the altered reading was that which he preferred." For, according to my theory, the 'inserted passages' are really structural portions of the play as it was originally written, and the so-called 'corrections' which "are admitted to be Shakspere's own," are not corrections subsequently made by Shakspere, but merely corrections of the mistakes and blunders of the Quarto edition.

Before I proceed further, let us see what the conception really is which Mr Spedding wishes us to entertain. That Shakspere should go through a completed and successful play, line by line, and word by word, like a pedagogue correcting a school-exercise (the illustration is Mr Spedding's own); that he should make alterations, which, although they may be a little better than the originals, are themselves very lame improvements, as Mr Spedding admits is occasionally, and, as I shall endeavour to show, is frequently the case; that his imagination should brook to be "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined" by the trammels of what was written, and never once cast them disdainfully aside; that he should not re-construct a single scene, or bring out a single character; that he should add only seven passages of more than five lines apiece, and yet—strangest of all—that one of these passages, a very long, not to say tedious, speech of about 50 lines should be actually inserted after representation by Shakspere, consummate master of stage-craft, in a scene which had already run to the unconscionable length of some 500 lines; and that Shakspere should make an occasional excursion to his grammar to discover, inter alia, that 'thou wert' is ungrammatical, and to alter it accordingly to 'thou wast: ' such is the theory which we are invited to accept. To my mind, it is a startling theory; it is a theory from which our traditional reverence for Shakspere, and our conception of him, recoil. I do not at all mean to imply that it should on that account be at once rejected: I merely wish to show, inasmuch as Mr Spedding terms the conjecture of the Cambridge editors 'bold' at the outset, that the alternative theory is 'bold' also.

Again, Mr Spedding very much over-estimates, I think, the consequences which are involved in the acceptance of that conjecture. No doubt a very large additional element of uncertainty is thus introduced into any conclusions respecting the priority of Shakspere's plays, based upon a comparison of the Quarto and the Folio of Richard III.; but it does not follow that the same uncertainty consequently attaches to the conclusions which are based upon an investigation of the eighteen other plays mentioned by Mr Spedding. Of course, each of these plays must be examined separately, upon its own individual merits; and it is only where we find an irresistible body of evidence similar to that which I hope to be able to adduce in the case of Richard III., that we shall be justified in concluding that the play under consideration has been manipulated by an unauthorized hand.

The plan which I propose to adopt in my treatment of the subject, is the following: first, I shall discuss the examples cited by Mr Spedding under each of the six sections of his Paper. It will not be necessary to do more than enumerate those examples, in regard to which I agree with him; but in the other cases I shall state the precise reasons upon which my opinion is grounded. I shall then adduce a very large number of instances, merely selected out of a much larger number still, which were not mentioned expressly by the Cambridge editors in their preface, and consequently are not touched upon in Mr Spedding's Paper: instances, in which something original, striking, or forcible in idea or expression in the Quarto, is diluted into commonplace in the Folio. These were the passages which first convinced me that there is work in the Folio which is not Shakspere's. Fashions of speech no doubt may change; phrases and words may grow obsolete or die out even within the limits of a literary career; modes of thought or expression which were dear to the poet in his youth may grow distasteful to him in his maturity; the points of view from which he regards nature and human life may shift, as the years roll on; but amid all these elements of change, if he should think it worth while to revise his earlier work, we may be certain that he will never turn poetry into very weak and washy, albeit more regular, verse. Thirdly, I shall produce examples to show that the improvements which are essayed are altogether below what we should expect from Shakspere, if we suppose him assuming the character of a reviser of his own work. I shall show, upon the other hand, that these improvements are precisely what we might anticipate from a corrector of moderate capacity, setting himself to the task of 'dressing up' the play according to his lights. Fourthly, I shall show by printing in extenso the (so-called) 'inserted passages' of the Folio, along with their immediate context, and by a commentary upon them, that these 'inserted passages' must have been structural portions of the play as it was originally written. In connection with this part of the subject it will be necessary to take into consideration

the remark of Mr Spedding, that the metrical character of the 'inserted passages' corresponds with what we suppose to have been the stage of Shakspere's metrical development about 1602. Of course, if this could be made out, it would quash my theory that the Folio (corrector's manipulation apart) represents the play as it was first written. This question will therefore receive the attention which it certainly deserves. Lastly, I shall endeavour to show that the amount of blundering which my theory supposes to have been perpetrated by the printer of the first Quarto is not incredible; and here, at all events, I anticipate the ready sympathy of Mr Spedding, who has attributed such remarkable feats in this direction to the printer of the Folio.

I shall now proceed at once to discuss Mr Spedding's examples, beginning with the alterations in the Folio *Richard III.* which, according to Mr Spedding, "cannot have been intended by Shakspere," but which may be "easily accounted for in almost every instance without supposing anybody besides the printer to have meddled with the text." It will be most convenient, I think, to quote the passages in full, giving first the reading of the first Quarto, and then that of the first Folio. I shall alter the original spelling, unless it should happen in any case to be significant. The references

are to the Cambridge edition.

ALTERATIONS IN THE FOLIO $RICHARD\ III.$ WHICH ARE ATTRIBUTED BY MR SPEDDING TO THE PRINTER.

I agree with Mr Spedding in regarding as errors of the printer, the examples which are numbered respectively 1, 6, 8, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23a, 24, 28, 29, 32, 34, 42, 43, 44, 50, 53, 55, 57, 59, 63, 71, 74, 78. Of these, therefore, nothing need be said.

2.

I. i. 63, Quarto:

"Tis not the King that sends you to the Tower; My Lady Grey, his wife, Clarence, 'tis she That tempers him to this extremity."

Folio:

"'Tis not the King that sends you to the Tower; My Lady Grey, his wife, Clarence, 'tis she That tempts him to this harsh extremity."

Here Mr Spedding lays only half the alteration to the charge of the transcriber or printer, that is, the conversion of 'tempers' into 'tempts;' then the corrector, coming across the short line in the copy which he was revising, eked it out with the epithet 'harsh.' And Mr Spedding thinks that the corrector may have been Shakspere himself. In the first place, I cannot agree with him in the conjecture that "the mistake may have arisen from the use in the MS. of the

contracted form of per." For the first Quarto, which must have been printed from MS., reads 'tempers' quite correctly, the corrupted form 'tempts' being first found in the second Quarto, which was printed, not from MS., but from the previous Quarto. As the error of the second Quarto is reproduced substantially by all the following Quartos, there can be very little doubt, I think, that the copy which the corrector used, at least as far as this passage is concerned, was one of the later Quartos, probably the third. We come then to the heart of the question,—can we suppose that the corrector was Shakspere? Can we suppose that Shakspere would adopt the reading 'tempts,' which a mere printer's error had introduced into the copy which he was revising? Mr Spedding says that "there is not much to choose between the two lines." For my own part, I cannot see any propriety in the reading of the Folio. Why should Lady Grey be said to tempt the King, when she is represented throughout Gloucester's speech as having him completely under her control? Only three lines before, Gloucester had cited the committal of Clarence as an illustration of what occurs when "men are ruled by women." Eve tempted Adam, it is true, but Jezebel stirred up (nearly = tempered) Ahab; and the latter is certainly the true analogy. Upon the other hand, if the corrector was not the author, he would of course accept the reading which he found, as it no doubt gives a fair sense.

3.

I. i. 71, Quarto:

"Car. By heaven, I think there is no man is secured But the queen's kindred and night-walking heralds That trudge betwixt the King and Mistress Shore. Heard ye not what an humble suppliant Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?"

Folio:

"By heaven, I think there is no man secure
But the queen's kindred and night-walking heralds
That trudge betwixt the King and Mistress Shore.
Heard you not what an humble suppliant
Lord Hastings was, for her delivery ?"

Mr Spedding thinks that the corrector is responsible only for striking out the words 'to her.' But it appears to me that the omission of these words leaves the sense, or at all events the perspicacity, of the passage defective, and that this was evident to the corrector himself, who therefore deliberately altered 'his delivery' to 'her delivery,' in order to make it clear to whom Lord Hastings addressed his prayers. Mr Spedding holds that the passage, as it stands in the Folio, cannot be Shakspere's; I have given good reason, I think, for supposing that it is the corrector's.

I. ii. 17, Quarto:

"More direful hap betide that hated wretch That makes us wretched by the death of thee, Than I can wish to adders, spiders, toads, Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives!"

Folio:

"More direful hap betide that hated wretch That makes us wretched by the death of thee, Than I can wish to wolves, to spiders, toads, Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives!"

The reading of the Folio is suspected by Mr Spedding to represent an "unfinished correction of the author's own." For my own part, I regard it as confirmatory of the theory that the Folio (minus the corrector's emendations) gives us the play as it was originally composed. I can see no difficulty in supposing that Shakspere in the outpour of his invention wrote down the lines as we have them in the Folio. In fact, I think we want 'wolves' here, as well as 'spiders' and 'toads,' -the former, to express the blood-thirsty ferocity of Gloucester, and the latter, to indicate the loathing with which Anne regards him. I consider the variation of the Quarto a deliberate correction, but I am very doubtful whether it is Shakspere's.

5.

I. ii. 38, Quarto:

"Gent. My lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass. Glou. Unmanner'd dog, stand thou, when I command."

Folio:

"Gent. My lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass. Glou. Unmanner'd dog, stand'st thou, when I command."

As I cannot see that the printer was likely to fall into error here, I am disposed to attribute the reading of the Folio to the corrector. He frequently displays an inability to appreciate the force of a recurrent word, and "stand'st thou when I command?" furnishes a sufficient sense, if we give to stand the meaning of withstand, oppose.

7.

I need not do more than quote Mr Spedding's own words respecting this passage. "As the necessary alteration could have involved no difficulty for the author, it must be admitted to be more like the work of a corrector who was not the author."

I. ii. 231, Quarto:

"What! I, that killed her husband and his father,
To take her in her heart's extremest hate,
With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes,
The bleeding witness of her hatred by."

Folio: my hatred for her hatred.

As Mr Spedding admits that the reading of the Quarto represents Shakspere's meaning, it is superfluous to elaborate a defence of it. In fact, it is one of those passages, the force of which one feels but might be puzzled to demonstrate. Suffice it to say, that the reading of the Quarto is poetry, that of the Folio is prose. The alteration, therefore, is precisely what we might expect from the corrector,—a person, I believe, of fair intelligence, but absolutely devoid of taste. Upon the other hand we are told that "the alteration is one which might suggest itself to any intelligent inattentive reader." As this functionary plays no inconsiderable part in Mr Spedding's explanatory theories, I wish the latter had given us some reasons for believing in his existence. The gross and self-evident blunders which are perpetuated through the whole series of the Quartos of this very play, and even the mistakes of the Folio itself, point to the conclusion that the printers of Shakspere's time were not in the habit of furnishing 'proofs' at all, so that the occupation of the 'reader,' like Othello's, would be 'gone.' In fact, Mr Spedding appears to have inadvertently attributed to Elizabethan printers the usage of their Victorian descendants.

10.

I. iii. 17, Quarto:

"Here come the lords of Buckingham and Darby."

Folio:

"Here comes the Lord of Buckingham and Derby."

Mr Spedding suggests that the corrector employed for his revision one of the later Quartos, in which the line ran thus:—

"Here comes the Lords of Buckingham and Darby,"

that the obvious blunder escaped his notice, and was amended by the printer. But why should we attribute to this particular printer a solicitude to weed out grammatical solecisms which three of his brethren (i. e. the printers of Q3, Q4, and Q5) had already permitted to pass unchallenged? I believe that the corrector made the alteration, and I quite agree with Mr Spedding that "Shakspere would not have made" it.

I. iii. 63, Quarto:

"The King, of his own royal disposition And not provoked by any suitor else, Aiming belike at your interior hatred Which in your outward actions shows itself Against my kindred, brothers, and myself, Makes him to send, that thereby he may gather The ground of your ill-will, and to remove it."

Folio:

"The King on his own royal disposition, (And not provoked by any suitor else), Aiming (belike) at your interior hatred That in your outward action shows itself Against my children, brothers, and myself, Makes him to send that he may learn the ground."

Accepting Mr Spedding's explanation of the harshness of the last line in the Folio, what are we still asked to believe? That Shakspere revised the passage minutely,—so minutely that he changed of to on, which to that, actions to action, and yet that he left the clumsy construction—" the King makes him [i.e. the King] to send "—untouched! Assuming that the corrector was not Shakspere, there is no difficulty. A re-casting of the lines would have been necessary to make the construction regular, and that was not the corrector's forte.

12.

I. iii. 113, Quarto:

"What! threat you me with telling of the King? Tell him, and spare not: look, what I have said I will avouch in presence of the King."

Folio:

"What! threat you me with telling of the King? I will avouch't in presence of the King: I dare adventure to be sent to th' Tower."

Mr Spedding supposes that the second line of the Quarto was dropped by accident in printing the Folio, and then that avouch was altered to avouch't in order to complete the sense. It is perfectly true that there is scarcely any error more common with the early printers of Shakspere's plays than the omission of a line; but it is not usual with them, so far as I know, to make alterations in order to remedy the disorder which is thereby occasioned. Take from this very play an instance which occurs to me, where the printer through omitting a line has produced absolute nonsense:

II. ii. 85. "These babes for Clarence weep, so do not they." I am of opinion, therefore, that the alteration was intentionally made by the corrector, and I can easily understand that the omitted line was too free and vigorous for his taste. With regard to the additional line of the Folio, I should say that it is Shakspere's, but that it was intentionally omitted from the Quarto. To my mind it is much better away, and a judicious corrector would not have restored it.

13.

I. iii. 161. I do not quote the passage, as the alteration is too slight to be worth much discussion. I cannot, however, understand the author making such a correction.

16.

I. iii. 325, Quarto:

"Glou. The secret mischiefs that I set abroach
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
Clarence, whom I indeed have laid in darkness,
I do beweep to many simple gulls."

Folio:

who for whom, and cast for laid.

The former alteration is very likely the printer's error, the latter is certainly intentional. Gloucester, we must remember, is not above verbal quibbling (cp., for example, IV. iv. 174-178): and I have little doubt that the author repeated the word consciously and deliberately, not by inadvertence, as Mr Spedding supposes. I should cite this as an example of the class of alterations apparently made "to avoid the recurrence of the same word even where the recurrence adds to the force of the passage." That the repetition in the present case is not meaningless in the judgment of some competent critics, is clear from the circumstance, that both Malone and Dyce (the latter, at all events, by no means an enthusiastic follower of the earlier edition) prefer the reading of the Quarto to that of the Folio.

17.

I. iii. 332, Quarto:

"Now they believe me; and withal whet me To be revenged on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey."

Folio:

"Now they believe it; and withal whet me To be revenged on Rivers, Dorset, Grey."

The repetition of me in the first line of the Quarto is certainly very objectionable; but I regard it as an error of the printer. The substitution of Dorset for Vaughan deserves some consideration. Vaughan makes only one appearance in the course of the play, viz. in iii. 3, where he is introduced, along with Rivers and Grey, on their

way to execution. Dorset, it is to be observed, escapes; for we find that he is subsequently mentioned by Gloucester in his conversation with Queen Elizabeth, in iv. 4:

"Dorset your son, that with a fearful soul Leads discontented steps in foreign soil."

Inasmuch as, therefore, it is upon Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey (and not upon Rivers, Dorset, and Grey) that Gloucester's vengeance actually falls, it is most appropriate that Vaughan's name should be mentioned, rather than Dorset's, in the passage under consideration. But, upon the other hand, it is clear that a corrector, who could not be expected to be so conversant with the relations of the different parts of the play as the author himself,—it is clear that a corrector, revising this passage, might not unnaturally stumble at Vaughan's name. Vaughan had never been mentioned before; he plays a very insignificant part in the drama. Dorset, on the contrary, had made a prominent figure in this very scene; Dorset was nephew to Rivers, and brother to Grey, and luckily his name would fit into the verse quite as well as, or even better than, Vaughan's. Accordingly Vaughan was struck out, and Dorset inserted.

21.

II. i. 7, Quarto:

"Rivers and Hastings, take each other's hand."

Folio:

"Dorset and Rivers, take each other's hand."

Mr Spedding thinks that the reading of the Folio, as it stands, is due to the printer, who dropped a line, and that the alteration really intended was to the following effect:

"Dorset and Rivers, Hastings, Buckingham, Come all before me: take each other's hand."

Let this be granted. Then, to pass over the circumstance that Dorset, the youngest and the least considerable of the party, is most conspicuously addressed, and, notwithstanding, makes no reply, is it not clear from the manner of the King's presently turning to Dorset and Buckingham, that they were not included in the former exhortation:

"Madam, yourself are not exempt in this, Nor your son, Dorset; Buckingham, nor you."

It is indeed so difficult to suppose that anybody could be stupid enough to alter deliberately the Quarto to the present reading of the Folio, that I am disposed to accept Mr Spedding's suggestion as to the correction which was really intended: but even this displays such a want of congruity with the whole context, as I have endeavoured to show, that I find in it unmistakable marks of some reviser who was not the author.

II. i. 45, Quarto:

"Buck. And, in good time, here comes the noble Duke.

Enter Gloucester."

Folio:

"Buck. And, in good time,

Here comes Sir Richard Rateliffe, and the Duke.

Enter Rateliffe and Gloster."

I agree with Mr Spedding in attributing to Shakspere the stage-direction of the Folio in this passage; but I regard it as part of the original MS., not as a subsequent emendation. There is not any difficulty in accounting for the omission of Ratcliffe's name from the stage-direction of the Quarto, upon the supposition that in the Quarto we have the stage-copy of the play: as Mr Grant White suggests upon another occasion, the company I suppose was not strong in point of number, and therefore, as Ratcliffe had nothing to say or do in this scene, his presence was dispensed with. Of course the alteration of the text cannot be Shakspere's; Mr Spedding attributes it to the printer or the transcriber, who finding Ratcliffe's name in the margin, inserted it in the text as well as in the stage-direction. But if this had occurred, we ought to have the following reading:

"Here comes Ratcliffe, and the noble Duke."

Of course it may be said that the line was altered for the sake of the metre; but Elizabethan printers (or even transcribers, so far as I know) do not commonly work in this way. I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that the alteration was deliberately made by the corrector, who finding Ratcliffe's name in the stage-direction of the copy which he was revising, judged that it ought not to be omitted from the text.

25.

II. i. 62. Quarto:

62. "First madam I entreat true peace of you,

63. Which I will purchase with my duteous service;

64. Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,

65. If ever any grudge were lodged between us;
66. Of you Lord Rivers, and Lord Gray of you,
67. That all without desert have frowned on me;

68. Dukes, Earls, Lords, gentlemen; indeed of all."

Folio: The first four lines are unaltered; but in place of the last three we have the following:—

"Of you and you, Lord Rivers and of Dorset, That all without desert have frowned on me; Of you Lord Woodville, and Lord Scales of you; Dukes, Earls, Lords, gentleman, indeed of all."

In the first place, as regards the line peculiar to the Folio, I can-

not conceive any reason why the corrector should have introduced it: I think, therefore, that it is Shakspere's, and formed part of the original MS., but that it was intentionally omitted from the Quarto (whether by Shakspere or by some one else, I cannot say) because it was cast in precisely the same form as the next line but one preceding. The corrector, then, finding the line in his copy, and allowing it to remain, was compelled to alter the similar line; and he has altered it with his usual infelicity. Now let us turn to Mr Spedding's explanation. We are told that "the passage as it stands in the Quarto required some alteration," because "two persons are spoken of as all. Addressing Rivers and Gray, Richard would have said, not all, but both." Accordingly when Shakspere in his revision of the play found himself compelled by the introduction of the new line to alter line 66, he cast that line in the precise form which we find in the Folio, in order to introduce a third name, and so remove the objection to the word 'all.' But the plain reader will not unnaturally inquire, where the 'third name' is to be found. In order to answer this question, Mr Spedding has to give the following extremely forced and harsh interpretation of the line:-

"Of you [to Gray], and you, Lord Rivers,—and of Dorset."

Why should poor Grey be indicated by a mere gesture? But I am sure the reader will feel that further criticism is superfluous. The fact is, Mr Spedding has gone wrong through misunderstanding the meaning of *all* in the line—

"That all without desert have frowned on me."

There can be little doubt that *all* is used adverbially here, in the sense of *altogether*, *absolutely*. This use of the word is not uncommon in Shakspere: for instance, in *Richard II.*, II. ii. 124, we have:—

"For us to levy power Proportionable to the enemy Is all unpossible."

Some confirmation of this view, if any be needed, may be found in the circumstance that we have *all* in its more ordinary sense in the last line; whereas, if it had been used in that sense only two lines before (in the preceding line, in the Quarto), its recurrence here would be decidedly weak and objectionable.

26.

II. i. 98, Quarto:

"Then speak at once what is it thou demand'st."

Folio:

"Then say at once what is it thou requests."

I do not understand with what object Mr Spedding quotes this passage. It is adduced under the heading—"Alterations not intended

by Shakspere," but we are told that "of the dropping of the final 't' (for euphony) in words of this kind several other instances are found in Shakspere:" from which one would infer that Mr Spedding considers requests the true reading.

27.

II. ii. 43, Quarto:

"If you will live, lament; if die, be brief,
That our swift-winged souls may catch the King's,
Or, like obedient subjects, follow him
To his new kingdom of perpetual rest."

Folio:

ne'er changing night for perpetual rest.

I do not deny that the reading of the Folio is more lofty than the Quarto, but—is it appropriate? The speaker is Queen Elizabeth lamenting her husband's decease, which (for the time at least) has taken from life all its value in her eyes, and divested Death of all his This is the whole tenour of her speech. How extremely unnatural then, how utterly opposite to Shakspere's manner, that in the last line she should refer to death in its gloomy aspect, as a "ne'er changing night!" It would appear that this incongruity has presented itself to others, as I see that the Collier MS. gives "ne'er changing light," and Keightley conjectures "perpetual light." On the other hand, perpetual rest is just the idea of death which would most naturally occur to one in Queen Elizabeth's present frame of mind. But I can well understand that this view might not commend itself to the corrector, and so without regard to the context he substituted this tall phrase—a sort of stock phrase, it seems to my ear-" ne'er changing night."

30.

II. ii. 145, Quarto:

 $\left(\begin{array}{c} Q.\ Eliz. \\ Duch. \end{array}\right\}$ With all our hearts."

Folio:

Omitted.

One instance out of many of the corrector's abhorrence of half lines. As the completion of them would involve too large a draft upon his inventive genius, he cuts the Gordian knot by leaving them out altogether.

31.

II. iii. 12, Quarto:

"In him there is a hope of government,

That in his nonage, council under him,

And in his full and ripened years himself,

No doubt shall then, and till then govern well,"

Folio: which for that in the second line.

Mr Spedding supposes that a line has been omitted here: but why? The construction is awkward certainly, but it is complete, and quite Shaksperian. Split the sentence up, and there is no difficulty: "in him there is a hope (in respect of government), that when he reaches maturity he will no doubt govern well, and in the interval ('till then') his Council will do the same." The corrector, however, by changing that to which, showed that he did not understand the construction of the passage, and betrayed himself to be not the author.

33.

II. iv. 1, Quarto:

"Car. Last night I hear they lay at Northampton: At Stony Stratford will they be to-night: To-morrow, or next day, they will be here."

Folio:

"Arch. Last night I heard they lay at Stony Stratford And at Northampton they do rest to-night; To-morrow or next day they will be here."

Respecting this much-disputed passage, I do not think that the coincidence of the Folio with the statement in Hall's chronicle can fairly be regarded as accidental. I should say that Shakspere, following the chronicle of Hall or Sir Thomas More's Life of Edward V., gave these facts as he found them there; but it is clear that he did not remember at the moment that Stony Stratford is nearer to London than Northampton is, or he would certainly not have made the Archbishop announce the retrograde movement of the young King's escort quite as a matter of course, without any explanation whatever. other supposition is, in the words of Malone, "utterly inconsistent with the whole tenour and scope of the present scene." Mr Spedding, however, falls into grievous error through supposing that Shakspere follows the historical order of events with strict accuracy throughout. He observes, "what he [the Archbishop] had 'heard' was what he had been told by Hastings' messenger: it was exactly what he said: and it was true." That is to say, the Archbishop announces intelligence before he has himself received it! for the reader will observe that Hastings' messenger arrives considerably later in the scene. The fact is, Shakspere deviates a little from historical truth in order to attain dramatic effect: he makes the messenger arrive during the Archbishop's interview with the Queen, whereas, actually, it was the news the messenger brought that led to the interview. (See the Chronicle.) It is necessary, therefore, to suppose that the Archbishop had obtained from some other source the intelligence which he announces at the outset. Then, the drama is perfectly consistent with itself, although it is not consistent with history.

My view with regard to the relation between the Folio and the Quarto here is this: the reading of the Folio is substantially what Shakspere wrote, and it was the reading of the copy which the corrector revised: the latter may have altered an unimportant word or two, but he left the passage essentially as he found it. In the Quarto we have a deliberate alteration of the original reading, made no doubt to obviate the difficulty arising from the respective positions of Northampton and Stony Stratford with regard to London; but whether this alteration was made by Shakspere or by some one else (by the actors, for instance), there is not any evidence to show. Upon the whole, I regard this example as neutral, so far as concerns the great question at issue,—was Shakspere the corrector of the play? Is it not, however, a little erratic on the part of Mr Spedding, who defends the Folio reading, to quote the passage under the heading, "Alterations in the Folio Richard III. which cannot have been intended by Shakspere"?

35.

II. iv. 65, Quarto:

"Or let me die, to look on death no more."

Folio

"Or let me die, to look on earth no more."

It is quite unnecessary, I suppose, to expatiate upon the vigour of the Quarto reading, and upon its singular appropriateness in the mouth of the speaker, the old Duchess of York. Of course Mr Spedding does not defend the Folio, but he attributes the alteration to the printer. I think it may be sufficient reply to point to the circumstance that the passage is reproduced correctly throughout the whole series of Quartos. For my own part, I regard it as an unmistakable example of a class of "instances, in which something original, striking, or forcible in idea or expression in the Quarto, is diluted into commonplace in the Folio."

36, 37, 38.

(36) III. i. 78, Quarto 1:

"Even to the general all-ending day."

Folio (and all the Quartos except Q1):

"Even to the general ending day."

(37) III. i. 87, Quarto 1:

" Death makes no conquest of this conqueror."

Folio (and all the Quartos except Q1):

"Death makes no conquest of his conqueror."

(38) III. i. 123, Quarto 1:

"I would, that I might thank you as you call me."

Quarto 3:

"I would, that I might thank you as as you call me."

Folio:

"I would, that I might thank you as, as, you call me."

In all these cases the Folio reproduces misprints of the Quartos: in the first two the misprints are common to all the Quartos except the first, whilst in the third case the misprint is peculiar to Q3. can be very little doubt therefore, I think, that in this scene the corrector, for some reason or other, had recourse to one of the Quartos; and example (38) appears to make it almost certain that the particu-Now it will be observed that the misprints (or lar Quarto was Q3. two of them at least) are not such as any one might correct; but if the corrector had been the author, would he not certainly have restored the true reading? Example (38) is particularly noticeable: the commas, which are inserted one after each 'as' in the Folio, show how desperately the corrector had tried to extract a meaning out of the mere printer's blunder in Q3, the copy which he had then before him.

39.

III. ii. 6, Quarto:

"Cannot thy master sleep these tedious nights?"

"Cannot my Lord Stanley sleep these tedious nights?"

The alteration here is too trifling to deserve much discussion; but, even accepting the supposition that my has crept in by accident, I should say that the reading of the Quarto is greatly to be preferred on the score of variety, as we have 'Lord Stanley' only three lines before.

40.

III. ii. 91, Quarto:

"But come, my Lord, shall we to the tower? Hast. I go: but stay, hear you not the news, This day those men you talked of are beheaded ?" Folio:

"What, shall we toward the Tower? The day is spent. Hast. Come, come, have with you. Wot you what, my Lord ?

To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded."

It is obvious that the alteration of the first two lines was made with the object of improving the metre. The question, then, is-has the design been carried out in such a manner that we can fairly attribute it to Shakspere? Surely not. In my judgment "the day is spent" has a most painfully obtrusive air of 'padding.' Besides, how can it mean "only that it is getting late?" Surely in that case we should at all events require "the day is spending."

41.

III. iv. 4, Quarto:

"Buck. Are all things fitting for that royal time? Der. It is, and wants but nomination."

Folio:1

"Buck. Is all things ready for the royal time?

Der. It is, and wants but nomination."

Mr Spedding thinks that the substitution of is for are cannot be justified; but he attributes it to the printer's mistake. On the contrary, is it not pretty clear that the word was deliberately changed, in order to make it tally with the 'it is' of the following line?

45.

III. vii. 58, Quarto:

"Here comes his servant. How now Catesby, what says he?"

Folio:

"Now Catesby what says your Lord to my request?"

Mr Spedding supposes that the printer alone is responsible for inserting now in the Folio reading. This mistake, however, does not appear to me likely to have occurred; because the corrector, whoever he was, having to make so much alteration in the line of his copy, would no doubt erase it all, and write the new line above or in the margin. Besides,

"Catesby, what says your Lord to my request?" would be very abrupt and harsh.

46, 47

IV. ii. 46, and IV. ii. 72.

The reading of the Folio in these passages may be the result of "accidents of the press,"—accidents of a kind which Mr Spedding candidly admits is "not what can be called ordinary." At any rate I am content to regard them as neutral, as telling neither for nor against the identification of the corrector with Shakspere.

48.

IV. ii. 94, Quarto:

"The earldom of Herford."

Folio:

"The earldom of Hertford."

I consider this a mere misprint, inasmuch as in III. i. 195 we have the name given quite correctly in the Folio, *Hereford*.

49.

IV. ii. 103—120. Here the Folio omits one of the finest bits of dialogue in the whole play. It may be true, as Mr Spedding re-

¹ Since this was written, I have come across a passage which certainly tends to confirm the reading of the Folio: 2 Hen. VI., III. ii. 11.

"Is all things well,

According as I gave directions?

First Mur. Tis, my good lord."—E. H. P.

marks, that "the scene reads quite well without it;" but who that has ever read the scene in the Quarto does not feel that the omission of these lines is a real loss? Of course it may be urged that the judgment of the poet is sometimes at variance with the consensus of the critics, respecting the merits of his work. Is it more incredible, it may be asked-is it more incredible that Shakspere should blot out a passage which every judicious reader would be anxious to retain, than that Milton, for example, should prefer the Paradise Regained to the Paradise Lost? I reply that if it were certain that Shakspere had done so, nothing further could be said; but if, on the contrary, it is not certain, and if there is offered an alternative supposition which is much more probable, surely it is only reasonable to prefer the latter. We come then to inquire whether the passage has any characteristics which might induce a corrector 'devoid of taste' to expunge it? I think it has. I find that only five lines out of the whole passage are perfectly regular in metre. Now as we know otherwise that the corrector set his face rigidly against metrical irregularity, it would have been incumbent upon him, if he had retained the passage, to cast it afresh; and this, I think, was a task above his powers, for his metrical tinkering, however frequent, seldom extends beyond a line at a time.

51.

IV. iii. 31, Quarto:

"Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at after supper,
And thou shalt tell the process of their death."

"Come to me, Tyrrell, soon, and after supper, When thou shalt tell the process of their death."

It is obvious that the change of at into and cannot be Shakspere's; for the phrase is a common one with him (cp. Merry Wives of Windsor, I. iv. 8; Comedy of Errors, I. ii. 26; and Othello, III. iv. 200). Mr Spedding, however, regards it as a mere misprint. But, on the contrary, there are two clear indications that the alteration was deliberately made: 1. the insertion of a comma after 'soon,' and 2. the substitution of 'when' for 'and' in the following line.

52.

IV. iv. 41, Quarto:

"I had a Richard till a Richard killed him."

"I had a husband till a Richard killed him."

As Mr Spedding justly observes, the force of the whole passage is spoiled by changing *Richard* into any other word. Here, therefore, he allows that "we have reason to suspect the intrusion of a non-Shaksperian hand." But has he fully considered the consequences of this admission upon his own theory? There can be little doubt that Shakspere wrote 'Richard;' it is, so to speak, one of those ten-

barred gates which he takes with such splendid audacity and imperturbable sang-froid. But if, like Mr Spedding, I supposed that Shakspere had revised his play with the most minute and even pedantic care, I should hold it a thing incredible that he would allow this gross inaccuracy to stand.

IV. iv. 86—91. I do not see any reason to suppose that the corrector, whoever he was, intended any change in the arrangement of these lines. I think that the reading of the Folio is due merely to a blunder of the printer, whose eye caught the last half of the following line instead of that of the line which he was composing, a sufficiently common mistake. I dissent, however, from Mr Spedding's opinion respecting the most judicious arrangement of the lines. Would not the canons of criticism pronounce that the line which stands third in the Quarto ought to come last?

"A dream of what thou wert, a breath, a bubble."

Surely anything which follows "a breath, a bubble," must be of the nature of an anti-climax.

56.

IV. iv. 174, Quarto:

" In thy company."

Folio:

" With thy company."

It is not worth while to dwell upon this example; but in certainly appears to me more proper to the context, and Malone, Dyce, and Staunton concur with the Cambridge editors in adopting it.

58.

IV. iv. 355, Quarto:

"Say I her sovereign, am her subject love."

"Say I her sovereign, am her subject low."

I am surprised to find that, in Mr Spedding's opinion, "which is right, may be questioned." Most readers, I think, will rather agree with Walker, that "low cannot be from Shakespeare's pen." 1 not the alteration bear upon the face of it the mark of an injudicious corrector, in whose eyes love in the sense of lover was an offence?

60.

IV. iv. 373, Quarto:

"Swear then by something that thou hast not wronged.

· King. Now, by the world—

Qu. 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.

¹ If proof were wanting 'loathes' in the next line supplies it.—W. A W.

King. My father's death-

Qu. Thy life hath that dishonour'd.

King. Then, by myself—

Qu. Thyself thyself misusest.

King. Why then, by God-

Qu. God's wrong is most of all.

If thou hadst feared to break an oath by him," &c.

Folio:

"Swear then by something that thou hast not wronged.

Rich. Then, by myself—

Qu. Thyself is self-misus'd.

Rich. Now, by the world-

Qu. 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.

Rich. My father's death—

Thy life hath it dishonour'd.

Rich. Why then, by Heaven—

Qu. Heaven's wrong is most of all.

If thou didst fear to break an oath with him," &c.

I have transcribed in full both the Quarto and the Folio readings of this passage, in order that the reader may judge for himself which arrangement is to be preferred. For my own part, I hold the Folio to be decidedly wrong, and both Malone and Dyce reject it in favour of the Quarto. To proceed only upon one ground, the order now—then—why then appears much more natural than then—now—why then. But however this may be, there is, at any rate, a bad case of blundering at the end of the passage, where God is changed to Heaven, and yet him is allowed to stand.

61.

IV. iv. 417, Quarto:

"And be not peevish fond in great designs."

Folio

"And be not peevish found in great designs."

An alteration due to the printer or to the transcriber, says Mr Spedding. It is sufficient reply, I think, to point out that the reading 'peevish fond' is correctly reproduced by the eight successive printers of the Quarto.

62.

IV. iv. 440—446. It is not necessary, I think, to dwell at any length upon this passage; for it is perfectly true, as Mr Spedding points out, that the reading of the Folio becomes "clear and consistent," if we suppose Catesby in line 443 to be a misprint for Ratcliffe,—an error not at all unlikely to occur. The Quarto, however, is, in my judgment, much superior,—more bustling and hurried, and therefore better suited to the occasion.

IV. iv. 491, Quarto:

"I, I, thou would'st be gone to join with Richmond."

Folio

"I, thou would'st be gone to join with Richmond."

I should regard this as a misprint, were it not that the corrector has displayed in similar passages an inveterate dislike of this thoroughly dramatic repetition of a word (a different thing altogether, it will be observed, from the "recurrence of the same word"). With regard to the metre, the line in the Folio, although it will not scan, is yet decasyllabic; which might, in the judgment of the corrector, be sufficient.

65.

IV. iv. 497, Quarto:

"look your faith be firm,

Or else his head's assurance is but frail."

Folio:

heart instead of faith.

Mr Spedding admits that faith is "the properer word." The change was made, I should think, to secure the antithesis of heart and head.

66.

V. ii. 11, Quarto:

"this foul swine

Lies now even in the centre of this isle."

Folio:

Is for lies, and centry for centre.

The latter change is, I suppose, a misprint; with regard to the former, it may be sufficient to quote the remark of Malone:—"For lies, the reading of the Quarto, the editors of the Folio, probably not understanding the term, substituted—Is."

67.

V. iii. 58, Quarto:

"King. Catesby! Rat. My lord?"

Folio:

" Rich. Ratcliffe! Rat. My lord?"

So far, the Folio might be taken to be correct; but presently, in both Quarto and Folio, the person thus addressed coems to retire in order to execute the commands of the King, and the latter then calls Ratcliffe by name and is answered by him. The Quarto, therefore, is no doubt right in making the King call 'Catesby,' and Rat. is a mere misprint for Cat. Of course, it is impossible to suppose that

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Shakspere would amend the error of the Quarto as it is amended in the Folio; but there is no difficulty whatever in believing that a corrector other than Shakspere might do so, when we observe that so judicious an editor as Malone adopts without comment the reading of the Folio. I cannot think that the printer of the Folio, not one of the most intelligent of his class (as we know from other evidence), would attempt an emendation of a reading which had passed muster with all the printers of the Quartos. The question whether that part of the 5th Act in which this passage occurs has not undergone revision, as Mr Spedding thinks, will arise subsequently.

68.

V. iii. 104, Quarto:

"I'll strive with troubled thoughts to take a nap."

Folio:

"I'll strive with troubled noise to take a nap."

The change seems at all events deliberate, and I think it may have been made in consequence of a fancy of the corrector, that something of dramatic contrast was sacrificed by attributing to Richmond 'troubled thoughts,' which were proper only to Richard. This idea would not be inconsistent with that pedantic over-carefulness which is characteristic of him.

69, 70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81. V. iii. 125; V. iii. 152; V. iii. 180; V. iii. 196; V. iii. 250; V. iii. 255; V. iii. 293; V. iii. 338; V. iii. 351; V. v. 7.

In these ten passages the Folio reproduces printer's errors of the Quartos subsequent to the first. It may be taken as certain then, that the portion of the Folio within which these errors are comprised was printed from one of the later Quartos; and further, as only four of the Quartos—viz. the 3rd, 5th, 6th, and 7th—have all the errors, that one of these must have been the copy actually used. The 7th may be eliminated at once, as its date (1627) is later than that of the first Folio. The following circumstance will serve, I think, to eliminate the 5th and the 6th also:—the line

"Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow"

occurs (substantially) three times in V. iii., viz. l. 118, l. 131, and l. 139. In l. 118, however, the 3rd, the 5th, and the 6th all read 'on thy soul,' and that is the reading of the Folio; but in l. 131, and again in l. 139, the 5th and 6th read 'on thy soul,' whilst the 3rd reads 'in thy soul,' and the Folio follows the 3rd in both places. Further, it will be seen by referring to page 91, that examples 36, 37, and 38 pointed to the conclusion that the corrector occasionally had recourse to the 3rd Quarto, and there is yet one more very striking coincidence between this Quarto and the Folio which I may quote here:—in III. v. 108, 109, the first Quarto reads—

"And to give notice that no manner of person At any time have recourse unto the princes."

In the 3rd Quarto, no doubt by accident, the preposition of in the 1st line was omitted, and the Folio follows the 3rd Quarto. course I am aware that 'manner' was used without the preposition in Shakspere's time; but I do not know that any other example is to be found in Shakspere, and I have very little doubt that the reading of the Folio is merely a reproduction of the accidental misprint of the 3rd Quarto. Taking it as certain then that the Folio from about V. iii. 45 to the end was printed from the 3rd Quarto as 'copy,' I come to consider Mr Spedding's conclusion that this portion of the play was not revised by the corrector. I cannot at all agree with that opinion. I have already shown that examples 67 and 68 must be attributed to the corrector, whilst he is also responsible no Besides these, I have noted down the following doubt for the 82nd. lines in which alterations, obviously deliberate, have been made: iii. 47, 48, 101, 130, 158, 176, 182, 202, 204, 205, 208, 232, 281, 309, 312, 337, 341: iv. 6: v. 4, 13, 41.

Certainly the variations from the Quarto are not so frequent as they are in other parts of the play; but the result is precisely what is required, if it be true, as I have endeavoured to show, that from some cause or other Shakspere's MS. failed the corrector in this place, and he had to rely entirely on one of the Quartos for 'copy.' For, in that case, there would be no opportunity for a class of variations which constitute no inconsiderable number of the whole in other parts of the play, - viz. those which are due to the fact that the Quarto had been blundered over in the printing-office, whilst the MS. gave the true reading, and the corrector did not meddle with it. If, then, the revision was continued to the end of the play, the reviser must have been some one other than Shakspere; for we cannot imagine Shakspere permitting the ten blunders quoted by Mr Sped-

ding to stand.

I have now gone through the eighty examples pronounced by Mr Spedding himself to be non-Shaksperian, and I have shown, conclusively I think, that about fifty of them cannot fairly be attributed to any one but the corrector of the play; hence it would follow that the corrector was not Shakspere. I have discussed with so much minuteness the first section of Mr Spedding's paper, that it will be unnecessary for me, and certainly undesirable in the interests of the reader, to bestow equal elaboration upon the other sections. Besides, several of them turn mainly upon questions of taste, which do not admit of argument.

I now pass on to the second section :-

ALTERATIONS MADE TO IMPROVE THE METRE.

In this class Mr Spedding cites all the alterations "evidently meant to remove gross and obvious defects of metre" which the Cambridge

editors have rejected: his object being to assail the position taken up by those gentlemen, that the metre is amended "by spoiling the sense." I venture to think that the Editors ought rather to have said,-by weakening the vigour, and marring the propriety, of the language; but probably they used the word sense in that extended meaning. Mr Spedding, however, takes the word in its narrow significance, and upon those terms perhaps he has upon the whole the best of the argument. Yet I must remind him of one example (No. 18), in which the sense, pure and simple, is distinctly sacrificed: in the Quarto, III. ii. 80, Hastings says to Stanley

"My Lord, I hold my life as dear as you do yours."

The line is thus amended in the Folio:

"My Lord, I hold my life as dear as yours,"—

a phraseology which undoubtedly means that Hastings estimates both his own life and Stanley's at the same rate, whilst the argument requires that Hastings should mean: "my life is as dear to me as your life is to you." As Malone well observes, "no critical chymistry can extract such a meaning out of the words found in the Folio copy."

Take, again, example 5,—a sacrifice not strictly perhaps of sense, but bordering closely upon it :- in the Quarto, I. iv. 64, we have-

"No marvel, my Lord, though it affrighted you."

This becomes in the Folio:

"No marvel, Lord, though it affrighted you."

Is there any other instance in Shakspere of a single person being addressed thus baldly and unnaturally as 'Lord' instead of 'my Lord ? '2

In the following examples, exclamatory phrases, thoroughly dramatic and appropriate, are sacrificed: -1. (I. ii. 188.) Tush!: 10. (I. iv. 207.) Why, Sirs.: 19. (III. iv. 10.) Who, I, my Lord?: 31.

(III. vii. 224.) Well: 41. (IV. ii. 122.) Tut, tut.
In examples 17 and 38 (III. ii. 60-62.: IV. ii. 50) the short lines are reduced into lines of regular metre by changing dialogue into

monologue,—certainly not a dramatic expedient.

There are two examples (15 and 48) in which the sacrifice of vigour is so conspicuous that they deserve to be quoted in full:-

15.

II. ii. 23-25, Quarto:

"And when he told me so, he wept

And hugged me in his arm, and kindly kissed my cheek And bade me rely on him as on my father."

1 The corrector did not see that 'marvel' is a monosyllable pronounced and sometimes printed 'marle.'-W. A. W.

² Since this was in type, I have discovered two such instances: 1 Henry IV., III. i. 180, and IV. i. 9. There may be a few more, but they are very rare.-E. H. P.

Folio:

"And when my uncle told me so, he wept, And pitied me, and kindly kissed my cheek; Bade me rely on him as on my father."

Does not every one feel how miserably weak pitied me is, as a substitute for hugged me in his arm?

48.

IV. iv. 485, Quarto:

"Cold friends to Richard: what do they in the north,
When they should serve their sovereign in the west?"

For Richard the Folio substitutes me.

There is a stage-tradition, I believe, that the delivery of these lines was one of the finest 'points' in Edmund Keen's impersonation of Richard; perhaps, if Mr Spedding had heard him, he might have been careful to omit *this* passage from the list of his examples.

Nothing further, I think, need be said respecting this section; for Mr Spedding himself does not appear to like the changes altogether, and only demands, in conclusion, "whether any one is prepared to maintain, even among those who most think the readings of the Quarto superior, that the superiority is so great, or of such a kind, as to make it certain that the alterations were not due to Shakspere." I for one am prepared to maintain that position; and, further, I would ask Mr Spedding in return whether, if Shakspere thought it worth his while to revise his play with extreme minuteness, as Mr Spedding supposes, we have not a right to expect that the 'superiority' should be greatly upon the side of the Folio. I pass on to the third class of alterations:—

ALTERATIONS MADE TO AVOID THE RECURRENCE OF THE SAME WORD.

Upon these examples I do not propose to dwell long, because it is very much a matter of individual taste whether the recurrence of the same word adds to, or detracts from, the force of the passage. My own judgment, however, coincides with that of Mr Spedding, in opposition to the Cambridge editors, with regard to the great majority of the passages which are quoted by him. I may cite one or two cases respecting which I hold a different opinion.

5.

I. iii. 325—328. See example 16, page 85.

10.

II. i. 33, Quarto:

"Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate On you or yours, but with all duteous love

Doth cherish you and yours, God punish me With hate," &c.

Folio:

Upon your Grace substituted for on you or yours in the second line. Surely the force of the passage is weakened by the alteration found in the Folio; besides, something of formality is not inappropriate to Buckingham's solemn protest; and, again, there is a slight change in the phrase-'you or yours' in the second line, 'you and yours' in the third.

15.

III. ii. 81, Quarto:

"My Lord, I hold my life as dear as you do yours; And never in my life, I do protest, Was it more precious to me than 'tis now."

Folio:

in my days substituted for in my life.

Whether any particular force is attained by the recurrence of the word life in the Quarto, may be doubted; but certainly that recurrence, regarded even as a disadvantage, is preferable to the unusual and inelegant phrase—'never in my days.'

24.

IV. iv. 173, Quarto:

"What comfortable hour canst thou name, That ever graced me in thy company?

K. Faith, none, but Humphrey Hour, that called your grace To breakfast once forth of my company.

If I be so disgracious in your sight,

Let me march on, and not offend your grace."

Folio:

you, madam substituted in the last line for your grace.

In this passage, which I have quoted at length in order that the reader may judge for himself, it seems clear that there is a force in the repetition which the corrector and Mr Spedding have missed. Surely, Richard says your grace twice and disgracious, intentionally and mockingly, playing upon the word graced in the Duchess's speech.

I do not think that it is necessary to make any further observations respecting this class of examples. That Shakspere would not have made the alterations in the four passages to which I have particularly referred, I feel certain: that he might have made the alterations in the other cases, I see no reason to doubt. But, upon the other hand, it certainly did not require a Shakspere to make them; so that, as far as the main question is concerned, they are neutral.

I pass on to make a few observations respecting

ALTERATIONS MADE TO AVOID OBSOLETE PHRASES.

As Mr Spedding has devoted a page or two to this class of alterations, it may be well not to pass them over altogether without notice, although I agree with him that they can hardly help us towards a settlement of the question at issue, because we cannot say that Shakspere himself would not have changed words or phrases which had gone out of fashion in the interval between the original writing of the play and the revision of it. The examples cited are: -I(aye) substituted for yea, more or other for moe, and you for thou. With regard to the first, I shall only observe that yea is found several times in Hamlet.

Moe occurs, I believe, three times in the first Quarto: namely, in IV. iv. 199, where, however, more is the reading of all the other Quartos, as well as of the Folio, so that the corrector of the latter may not be responsible for the change; again, in IV. iv. 504, where the Folio has the same reading; and lastly, in IV. v. 13, where the Folio substitutes other.

Thou, it is true, is frequently replaced by you, but whether this substitution can fairly be attributed to a change of fashion, I do not feel competent to decide; the distinction between thou and you is very subtle, and requires a more minute investigation than I can at present bestow upon it.

The reading thou wast is not, as Mr Spedding thinks, invariable in the Folio. In I. iii. 167, and very curiously a line peculiar to the Folio, we have-

"Wert thou not banished on pain of death?"

Now, if, as Mr Spedding suggests, Shakspere at the time of his revising Richard III. tabooed thou wert on the ground of grammatical propriety, we ought not to find it in any of his plays written about the same period. Mr Spedding places the revision in 1602, 'or not long before,' and quite accidentally I have come across thou wert in As You Like It (I. i.) and All's Well (II. iii.), the date of the former being given as 1600 and that of the latter as 1601-2 in Mr Furnivall's 'Trial Table.'

The changes attributed to the poet's efforts to increase the smoothness of his verse remain to be considered. These are: that substituted for which, between for betwixt, while or when for whilst. In the first place, with regard to the matter-of-fact, Mr Spedding is very far indeed from the truth when he alleges that "which is almost always changed to that."

As the question appears to be of some significance, I have made a quantitative analysis: the following is the result:-

> In Act I. which is changed to that in 8 instances. II. ,, 1 instance. ,, " III. never. 22 IV. in 2 instances.

V. never. On the contrary, it is curious enough that in Act V. there are two instances of that in the Quarto being changed to which in the Folio (i. 13 and i. 20). It appears, then, that as a matter-of-fact the change is found conspicuously in the 1st Act only, whilst Mr Spedding's theory requires that it should be found equally throughout the

With regard to the other two tabooed words, I have made a comparison with Hamlet, as being a play written (almost certainly) about the date assigned to the revision (1602). Between occurs, I believe, five times in the course of the play (III. i.; III. iv. twice; IV. v.; V. ii.); betwixt I have not found. Valeat quantum! Whilst occurs three times (I. ii.; III. ii.; III. iv.); whiles, twice (I. iii.; II. ii.); and while, twice (IV. iv.; V. ii.). Upon the whole, I do not think that Mr Spedding can make much out of the coincidences, such as they are; and, besides, the reason which he gives for assigning the revision to 1602 or thereabouts seems very inconclusive.

ALTERATIONS MADE TO REMOVE DEFECTS NOT APPARENT TO THE CAMBRIDGE EDITORS.

I am willing to regard the majority of the 19 examples cited under this heading as neutral; that is to say, as alterations which Shakspere might perhaps have made if he had revised the play. I must, however, take exception to three of them:—

4.

In I. iii. 320-1, the Folio reads:-

"Madam, his majesty doth call for you;

And for your Grace, and yours, my gracious Lord.'

Mr Spedding prefers this reading to the Quarto; but I should like to know if there is any other passage in Shakspere which would bear out this extremely uncouth use (as I think) of yours for your Grace.

5.

I. iv. 55, Quarto:

"squeakt out aloud."

Folio:

"shrieked out aloud."

Why the change? "Because (says Mr Spedding) no doubt the word had already begun to lose the tragic character which it once had, and to be unfit for such associations."

Mr Spedding must have forgotten for the moment the lines in

Hamlet (written certainly in 1602 or thereabouts):—
"A little ere the mightiest Julius fell.

The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets."

Again, in Antony and Cleopatra (written probably several years later), the word is used precisely as Clarence uses it, namely, to describe a boy's voice:—

"I shall see

Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness." (V. ii. 220.1)

14.

IV. iii. 42, Quarto:

"Looks proudly o'er the crown."

Folio:

"Looks proudly on the crown."

Surely, the Folio reading here is a weak dilution: the Quarto, on the other hand, appears to me very forcible, perfectly intelligible, and quite in accordance with Shakspere's modes of elliptical expression. Richmond no doubt looks up to the crown at present, but he looks up to it with the aspiration to place himself over it, to become master of it. I pass on now to the last section:—

ALTERATIONS IN THE STAGE-DIRECTIONS.

I heartily concur with Mr Spedding in regarding the stagedirections of the Folio as of much more authority than those of the Quarto.² I do not, however, agree with him, that the former are the result of a subsequent revision of the play, but I think that they formed part of the play as it was originally written. I am happy to find very strong confirmation of this view in what Mr Spedding has himself observed; namely, that the stage-directions of the Folio are more consistent with the text of the Quarto than are the stagedirections of the Quarto itself. For instance, take the inconsistency between text and directions respecting the name of Lord Stanley. In the last three Acts of the play, the directions both of Folio and of Quarto are inconsistent with the text of the latter, but the directions of the Folio are less inconsistent; for in two scenes of Act IV., where the directions of the Quarto give the name as Darby, the directions of the Folio read Stanley, thus agreeing with the text of the Quarto as well as with that of the Folio. Again, in I. iv., the stage-directions of the Folio, which make Clarence attended by a keeper, not by Brackenbury, the Lieutenant of the Tower, are more consistent with the line-found in the Quarto as well as in the Folio-

"I pray thee, gentle keeper, stay by me."

Another instance of the same thing is to be observed in V. i., where

¹ Comp. also squeal in Julius Casar, II. ii. 24.-W. A. W.

² Generally speaking the stage-directions of the Folio are better than those of the Quarto, and this is what we should naturally expect. The Quartos were printed for the use of the *audience*. The Folio text had been prepared for the use of the *players*. These form no part of our case,—W. A. W.

Buckingham is led to execution, according to the stage-directions of the Quarto, by Ratcliffe; according to those of the Folio, by the Sheriff. In the text of both versions, however, Buckingham addresses his conductors as 'Fellows,'-a style of address extremely unnatural, if Ratcliffe had been present. Once more, in III. iv., the execution of Hastings is carried out by Catesby according to the direction of the Quarto, by Lovell and Ratcliffe according to that of the Folio. The text of both versions makes Catesby behave towards Hastings, and Hastings towards Catesby, as if they were strangers to each other; whereas we learn from III. ii. that Hastings had regarded Catesby as his confidential friend. In this case, then, the directions of the Folio are consistent, and those of the Quarto are inconsistent, with the text of the latter. I should attribute the difference between the stage-directions of the Folio (which, I believe, were the stage-directions of Shakspere's original MS.) and those of the Quarto to two causes: first, that the Quarto was printed from the stage-copy, in which the directions had been adapted to the exigencies of the company, and sometimes even the text slightly altered to correspond; and secondly, that the Quarto was printed in an exceptionally careless and slovenly manner.

I have now gone carefully through the whole of Mr Spedding's Paper. I shall not stop at present to recapitulate the results of my investigation, but proceed at once, in accordance with the scheme which I laid down at the outset, to quote passages in which "something original, striking, or forcible in idea or expression, in the Quarto, is diluted into commonplace in the Folio;" or, in which a turn of phrase, thoroughly Shaksperian, is modified precisely as a prosaic reviser might be expected to modify it. A very large number of such passages have already been discussed in the preceding inquiry: these, therefore, I may exclude from my list of examples, which, limited to forty-five in number, must not be considered as anything like exhaustive, but merely as typical.

PASSAGES WEAKENED IN THE FOLIO.

1.

I. i. 24, Quarto:

"Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace, Have no delight to pass away the time, Unless to *spy* my shadow in the sun, And descant on mine own deformity."

The Folio substitutes see for spy.

Spy occurs frequently in Shakspere's plays:

e. g. II. Henry VI., I. i. 242:

"And, when I spy advantage, claim the crown."

I. iii. 231, Quarto:

"Thou slander of thy mother's heavy womb."

Folio:

"Thou slander of thy heavy mother's womb."

3.

I. iv. 22, Quarto:

"What dreadful noise of waters in my ears!"

In this passage, and again in II. iii. 44, the Folio substitutes water for waters. What Shakspere wrote is probably an echo—perhaps unconsciously—of the phrase in *The Revelation*, i. 15, and passim, "the sound of many waters;" but the unusual plural displeased the reviser, and so he changed the word into the singular, just as in III. iii. 14 and 21 he has changed bloods—a reading which several other passages in Shakspere corroborate—into blood.

4.

I. iv. 23, Quarto:

"What ugly sights of death within my eyes!"

Folio:

"What sights of ugly death within mine eyes!"

5.

I. iv. 25, Quarto:

"Ten thousand men that fishes gnawed upon."

The Folio substitutes a for ten. 'Ten thousand' is used for an indefinite number in very many passages in Shakspere; it may suffice to quote one:—

Ham. III. iii. 17:

"It [majesty] is a massy wheel, To whose huge spokes ten thousand lesser things Are mortised and adjoin'd."

6.

I. iv. 44, Quarto:

"O then began the tempest to my soul, Who passed, methought, the melancholy flood."

The Folio puts a full stop after soul, and changes the following word into I, thus spoiling the Quarto's fine idea of a disembodied spirit.

7.

I. iv. 57, Quarto:

"Seize on him, Furies, take him to your torments."

The Folio substitutes unto torment for the last three words.

I. iv. 149, Quarto:

"Come, shall we to this gear?"

Folio:

"Come, shall we fall to work?"

Gear is of frequent occurrence in Shakspere; e.g. Merchant of Venice, I. i. 110:—

"I'll grow a talker for this gear."

9.

I. iv. 151, Quarto:

"We will chop him in the malmsey-butt in the next room."

The Folio here substitutes throw him into for chop him in, and again in line 267 changes chop into drown.

Note that in is very frequently used by Shakspere in the sense

of into.

10.

II. ii. 14, Quarto:

"whom I will importune With daily prayers all to that effect."

The Folio substitutes earnest for daily.

11.

II. iv. 39, 40, Quarto:

"Mess. Such news, my Lord, as grieves me to unfold.

Qu. How fares the prince?"

The Folio substitutes report for unfold, and doth for fares, that is, weak and prosaic words for strong and picturesque. Similarly in the following example.

12.

II. iv. 49, Quarto:

"Ay me, I see the downfall of our house."

The Folio substitutes ruin for downfall.

13.

II. iv. 51, Quarto:

"Insulting tyranny begins to jet

Upon the innocent and lawless throne."

The Folio reads jutt instead of jet. Jutt is not found elsewhere in Shakspere; jet occurs several times. The substitution in the Folio of aweless for lawless is no doubt right, lawless being a misprint of the Quarto.

14.

III. i. 193, Quarto:

"Chop off his head, man; somewhat we will do."

Folio:

"Chop off his head, man; something we will determine."

15.

III. i. 195, Quarto:

"Whereof the king my brother stood possessed."

The Folio reads was instead of stood.

16.

III. ii. 26, Quarto:

"I wonder he is so fond To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers."

The Folio:

"I wonder he's so simple," &c.

In support of the Quarto, compare Merchant of Venice, III. iii. 10: "I do wonder.

Thou naughty gaoler, that thou art so fond To come abroad with him at his request."

17.

III. iv. 1, Quarto:

"Hast. My Lords, at once: 1 the cause why we are met," &c. Folio:

"Hast. Now, noble Peers, the cause why we are met," &c.

18.

III. iv. 67, Quarto:

"To doom the offenders, whatsoever they be."

The Folio reads whosoe're instead of whatsoever.

In support of the Quarto, compare Cymbeline, II. i. 42:

"Leonatus! a banished rascal; and he's another, whatsoever he be."

19.

III. iv. 98, Quarto:

"O momentary grace of mortal men,

Which we more hunt for than the grace of Heaven."

Folio:

"O momentary state of worldly men

Which we more hunt for than the grace of God."

The change appears to have been made, in order to avoid the recurrence—unobjectionable and, as I think, forcible—of the word grace.

20.

III. v. 40, Quarto:

"May. What, had he so ?"

1 Compare 2 Henry VI., III. i. 66:

"My lords, at once: the care you have of us," &c .- E. H. P.

Folio: "May. Had he done so?"

....

21.

III. v. 65, Quarto:

"I'll acquaint our duteous citizens

With all your just proceedings in this cause."

The Folio substitutes case for cause, which latter bears in my judgment the stamp of Shakspere, whilst the Folio reading is exactly the emendation which we might anticipate from a reviser other than the author.

22.

III. v. 89, Quarto:

"By just computation of the time."

The Folio reads true instead of just.

It would be easy to adduce other passages from Shakspere in support of the Quarto.

23.

I I. vii. 20, Quarto:

"Mine oratory grew to an end."1

The Folio substitutes drew for grew.

24.

III. vii. 29. The Quarto has wont—a poetical word; the Folio used—a prosaic word.

25.

III. vii. 49, Quarto:

"For on that ground I'll build a holy descant."

The Folio substitutes make for build, thus spoiling the metaphor.

26.

III. vii. 72, Quarto:

"He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed."2

The Folio reads love-bed.

27.

III. vii. 160, Quarto:

"So mighty and so many my defects

As I had rather hide me from my greatness."

.The Folio substitutes that I would for as I had, and makes a similar change in III. iv. 40.

28.

IV. i. 89, Quarto:

"No more than from my soul I mourn for yours."

Grow is used peculiarly by Shakspere: cp., for example, Conedy of Errors, IV. iv., "How grows it due?"—E. H. P.
 Day-bed occurs in Twelfth Night, II. v. 54.—W. A. W.

The Folio changes from into with.

29.

IV. ii. 55, Quarto:

"Inquire me out some mean-born gentleman."

The Folio has mean poor.

In support of the Quarto, compare 2 Henry VI., III. i. 335: "Let pale-faced fear keep with the mean-born man."

30,

IV. ii. 95, Quarto:

"The moveables

The which you promised I should possess." Folio:

"The moveables Which you have promised I shall possess."

31.

IV. ii. 102, Quarto:

"A king, perhaps, perhaps, ——"

The Folio does not repeat perhaps, but the repetition is so dramatic and appropriate to the King's musing mood, that I cannot for a moment suppose that Shakspere would have made the change.

32.

IV. iii. 12—13, Quarto:

"Their lips were four red roses on a stalk, Which in their summer beauty kissed each other."

The Folio reads and instead of which; the alteration is very slight, but yet it makes a world of difference as regards the force of the passage.

33.

IV. iv. 78, Quarto:

"That I may live to say, the dog is dead."

The Folio changes to into and.

34.

IV. iv. 94, Quarto:

"Who sues to thee and cries 'God save the Queen'?" Folio:

"Who sues, and kneels, and says 'God save the Queen'?"

35.

IV. iv. 135, Quarto:

"I hear his drum: be copious in exclaims."

"The trumpet sounds: be copious in exclaims."

The Quarto seems to me very much more dramatic.

36.

IV. iv. 196, Quarto:

"Though far more cause, yet much less spirit to curse Abides in me; I say Amen to all."

That is, "to all that she has said." The Folio weakly substitutes to her for to all.

37.

IV. iv. 359, Quarto:

"Then in plain terms tell her my loving tale."
Folio:

"Then plainly to her tell my loving tale."

38.

IV. iv. 369, Quarto:

"The George, profaned, hath lost his holy honour."

The Folio, probably in order to get rid of the alliteration, changes holy into lordly. But surely this involves a sacrifice of the proper epithet, which Shakspere would not have made. To say nothing of the sacred character of the George, the word profaned shows that holy is the true reading.

39.

IV. iv. 385, Quarto:

"[The princes,] two tender *playfellows* for dust."

The Folio substitutes *bed-fellows* for playfellows!

40.

IV. iv. 445, Quarto:

"Why stand'st thou still, and go'st not to the duke?"

Instead of the former half of this line the Folio has why stay'st thou

here.

41.

IV. iv. 461, Quarto:

"Why dost thou run so many mile about."

The Folio changes mile into miles.

A similar change is made in I. ii. 257, where we find "some score or two" in the Quarto altered into "a score or two" in the Folio. In both passages the Quarto reading is in accordance with Shakspere's usage.

42.

IV. iv. 503, Quarto:

"Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughty prelate, Bishop of Exeter, his brother there."

¹ The reading of the Quarto receives some confirmation from the following passage, in which Queen Elizabeth apostrophizes the Tower:

"Rude ragged nurse, old sullen playfellow

For tender princes, use my babies well!" IV. i. 103.-E. H. P.

The Folio changes the last two words into elder brother, a piece of particular information with which I cannot think that Shakspere would have favoured us upon such an occasion.

43.

V. i. 17, Quarto:

"By the false faith of him I trusted most."

The Folio changes the last three words into whom most I trusted.

44.

V. ii. 17, Quarto:

"Every man's conscience is a thousand swords."

The Folio tamely substitutes men for swords.

45

V. iii. 11, Quarto:

"Why, our battalion trebles that account."

The Folio reads battalia instead of battalian. This may certainly be the Italian battaglia. But if it is the plural, can any one suppose that Shakspere would have used this pedantic form of the plural? If any one can, let him refer to Hamlet, IV. v. 88, where he will find that, as a matter of fact, Shakspere preferred the plural in s:—

"When sorrows come, they come not single spies, But in battalions."

In accordance with my prescribed plan, I should now proceed to adduce examples to show that in most cases where the Folio is an improvement upon the Quarto, "the improvement is altogether below what we should expect from Shakspere, if we suppose him assuming the character of a reviser of his own work;" whilst, upon the other hand, it is "precisely what we might anticipate from a corrector of moderate capacity, setting himself to the task of dressing up the play according to his lights." Upon re-consideration, however, I propose to omit these examples: first, because the characteristics of the reviser's work which they would illustrate have been sufficiently (I think) developed incidentally in the course of the foregoing discussion; and, secondly, because Mr Spedding himself appears to have been content to dispute the superiority of the Quarto, without, for the most part, affirming or maintaining the actual superiority of the Folio. I pass on, therefore, to the next part of my subject: namely, to endeavour to establish that the so-called 'inserted passages' of the Folio formed part of the play as it was originally written.

THE PASSAGES PECULIAR TO THE FOLIO PART OF THE PLAY AS IT WAS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN.

Mr Spedding, on page 35 of his Paper, has given a table, tolerably complete, of the new lines printed in the Folio of 1623. I do

not propose to give a separate discussion to each of these. Single lines, or even lines inserted by twos and threes, cannot help us much towards a solution of the question at issue. Confining my attention, therefore, to the six longest of the inserted passages, I shall quote each of them at length, along with its immediate context as it stands in the Quarto. The reader will thus be in a position to form his own judgment upon two points: first, whether the character of the inserted passage is conformable with the theory that it was added by the author upon a revision of the play several years after it was originally written; or whether, upon the other hand, it rather tends to favour the alternative theory that the passage formed part of the original play, but being omitted by the actors in representation, was consequently omitted from the Quarto editions; and secondly. whether there is a marked metrical difference between the 'inserted' passage and its context, as the latter stands in the Quarto. If it does not appear that there is such a difference, it will be unnecessary to discuss Mr Spedding's opinion that the metrical characteristics of these passages correspond with those of Shakspere's work in or about the year 1602.

Note: the passages peculiar to the Folio are enclosed within

brackets.

1.

I. ii. 149-183.

"Anne. Out of my sight, thou dost infect my eyes. Glou. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine. Anne. Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead! Glou. I would they were, that I might die at once; For now they kill me with a living death. Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears. Shamed their aspect with store of childish drops: These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear, No, when my father York and Edward wept. To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made When Black-faced Clifford shook his sword at him; Nor when thy warlike father, like a child. Told the sad story of my father's death, And twenty times made pause to sob and weep, That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks, Like trees bedashed with rain: in that sad time My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear; And what these sorrows could not thence exhale, Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.] I never sued to friend nor enemy; My tongue could never learn sweet soothing words; But, now thy beauty is proposed my fee. My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to speak. Teach not thy lips such scorn, for they were made

For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.

If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
Lo, here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword;
Which if thou please to hide in this true bosom,
And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.
Nay, do not pause; 'twas I that killed your husband,
But 'twas thy beauty that provoked me.
Nay, now despatch; 'twas I that killed King Henry,
But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on."

I think the reader will agree with me that the passage enclosed in brackets must have formed part of the original play; indeed, in the Quarto, the abrupt conclusion of the lines,

"Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears, Shamed their aspect with store of childish drops,"

is quite noticeable, and suggests that something has been omitted. As regards metre, my ear cannot detect any difference between the lines which are, and those which are not, in the Quarto. Counting, however, gives a result partly in Mr Spedding's favour, partly against him. There are 21 old lines, and 12 new; in the former there is only one run-on line, in the latter there are two run-on lines. This result tells for Mr Spedding. But, upon the other hand, whilst the 12 new lines contain only one line with an extra syllable, the 21 old lines contain three such lines. This result tells against Mr Spedding; for, if it proved anything, it would prove that the passage peculiar to the Folio is earlier than the rest. With regard to the run-on lines in that passage, I may observe that the proportion in the Quarto is not unfrequently even very much greater: e.g. in Gloucester's opening soliloquy, containing 41 lines, there are 12 unstopped, or about 1 in 3.1

2.

II. ii. 79—106:

"Duch. Was ever mother had a dearer loss! Alas, I am the mother of these moans! Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general. She for Edward weeps, and so do I; I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she: These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I; I for an Edward weep, so do not they: Alas, you three, on me threefold distressed Pour all your tears! I am your sorrow's nurse, And I will pamper it with lamentations.

¹ Would Shakspere in 1602 have written these added lines? They surely belong to his early manner. I have no doubt they were originally part of the play, and were omitted for stage purposes.—W. A. W.

[Dor. Comfort, dear mother: God is much displeased That you take with unthankfulness his doing: In common worldly things, 'tis called ungrateful, With dull unwillingness to repay a debt Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent; Much more to be thus opposite with heaven, For it requires the royal debt it lent you.

Riv. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother, Of the young prince your son: send straight for him; Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives: Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave, And plant your joys in living Edward's throne.

Enter Gloucester, with others.

Glou. Madam, have comfort: all of us have cause To wail the dimming of our shining star; But none can cure their harms by wailing them. Madam, my mother, I do cry you mercy; I did not see your grace: humbly on my knee I crave your blessing."

In the first place, if the passage in brackets were inserted on a careful revision of the play, one would not expect to find a phrase put into Dorset's mouth—comfort, dear mother—so closely resembling Gloucester's—Madam, have comfort. Upon the other hand, what is more probable than that a slender company should cut out these two unimportant speeches of Dorset and Rivers, and so set free the actors who personated them to undertake other characters in this scene? As regards the metre, there are 15 old lines and 12 new; the former contain 3 run-on lines, and the latter contain 2. The old lines appear to run more smoothly than the new.

3.

II. ii. 112—142:

"Buck. You cloudy princes and heart-sorrowing peers,
That bear this mutual heavy load of moan,
Now cheer each other in each other's love:
Though we have spent our harvest of this king,
We are to reap the harvest of his son.
The broken rancour of your high-swoln hearts,
But lately splinter'd, knit, and join'd together,
Must gently be preserved, cherish'd, and kept:
Me seemeth good, that, with some little train,
Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd
Hither to London, to be crown'd our King.

[Riv. Why with some little train, my Lord of Buckingham? Buck. Marry, my Lord, lest, by a multitude, The new heal'd wound of malice should break out; Which would be so much the more dangerous,

By how much the estate is green, and yet ungovern'd: Where every horse bears his commanding rein, And may direct his course as please himself, As well the fear of harm as harm apparent, In my opinion, ought to be prevented. Glou. I hope the King made peace with all of us; And the compact is firm and true in me. Riv. And so in me; and so, I think, in all; Yet, since it is but green, it should be put To no apparent likelihood of breach, Which haply by much company might be urged: Therefore I say with noble Buckingham, That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.

Hast. And so say I.]

Glou. Then be it so; and go we to determine Who they shall be that straight shall post to Ludlow."

I think that we have in the Quarto a slight indication of the omitted passage: for Gloucester's words—"Then be it so"—which are very appropriate after the general discussion found in the Folio, appear to me a little inàpropos as following Buckingham's unopposed suggestion. Observe also that the cue is given for the omitted passage in Buckingham's words—"some little train"—found in the Quarto no less than in the Folio. As regards the metre, there is one run-on line in the passage peculiar to the Folio, and there are two run-on lines in the rest, whilst the old lines are certainly quite as smooth as the new,—perhaps they are even smoother. (Notice, in particular, the uncouth line in the Folio-

"By how much the estate is green and yet ungovern'd.")

4.

III. vii. 141—173:

"Glou. I know not whether to depart in silence, Or bitterly to speak in your reproof, Best fitteth my degree or your condition: If not to answer, you might haply think Tongue-tied ambition, not replying, yielded To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty, Which fondly you would here impose on me; If to reprove you for this suit of yours, So season'd with your faithful love to me, Then, on the other side, I cheek'd my friends. Therefore, to speak, and to avoid the first, And then, in speaking, not to incur the last, Definitively thus I answer you. Your love deserves my thanks, but my desert Unmeritable shuns your high request.

First, if all obstacles were cut away And that my path were even to the crown. As my ripe revenue and due by birth; Yet so much is my poverty of spirit, So mighty and so many my defects, As I had rather hide me from my greatness, Being a bark to brook no mighty sea, Than in my greatness covet to be hid And in the vapour of my glory smother'd. But, God be thanked, there's no need of me, And much I need to help you, if need were; The royal tree hath left us royal fruit, Which, mellow'd by the stealing hours of time, Will well become the seat of majesty, And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign. On him I lay what you would lay on me, The right and fortune of his happy stars; Which God defend that I should wring from him!"

I think the reader will agree with me in refusing to believe that Shakspere would have thought it worth while deliberately to insert the ten lines in a speech already sufficiently long: the more so, as the matter which they contain is really all expressed in the lines which follow:—

"Your love deserves my thanks, but my desert Unmeritable shuns your high request."

As regards metre, there are three run-on lines and four extra-syllable lines in the old portion, two run-on lines and one extra-syllable line in the new.

5.

IV. iv. 203-244:

"K. Rich. You have a daughter call'd Elizabeth,

Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious.

Q. Eliz. And must she die for this? O, let her live, And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty; Slander myself as false to Edward's bed; Throw over her the vail of infamy: So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaughter, I will confess she was not Edward's daughter.

K. Rich. Wrong not her birth, she is of royal blood.

Q. Eliz. To save her life, I'll say she is not so. K. Rich. Her life is only safest in her birth.

Q. Eliz. And only in that safety died her brothers.

K. Rich. Lo, at their births good stars were opposite. Q. Eliz. No, to their lives bad friends were contrary.

K. Rich. All unavoided is the doom of destiny.

Q. Eliz. True, when avoided grace makes destiny: My babes were destined to a fairer death,

If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life.

K. Rich. You speak as if that I had slain my cousins.

Q. Eliz. Cousins, indeed; and by their uncle cozen'd
Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.
Whose hand soever lanced their tender hearts,
Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction:
No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt
Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,
To revel in the entrails of my lambs.
But that still use of grief makes wild grief tame,
My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys
Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine eyes;
And I, in such a desperate bay of death,
Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.

K. Rich. Madam, so thrive I in my dangerous attempt of hostile arms, 235

As I intend more good to you and yours

Than ever you or yours were by me wrong'd!

Q. Eliz. What good is cover'd with the face of heaven,

To be discover'd, that can do me good?

K. Rich. The advancement of your children, gentle lady. Q. Eliz. Up to some scaffold, there to lose their heads.

K. Rich. No, to the dignity and height of honour, The high imperial type of this earth's glory."

As the passage between brackets consists of one uninterrupted speech, whilst the context is mainly made up of single-line repartees, we can scarcely make a fair comparison upon metrical grounds. But examine the inserted lines from an aesthetic point of view. Does not the fondness for jingles and antithesis,—cousins and cozen'd; hand, hearts and head; indirectly and direction; tongue and nails, ears and eyes—together with the character of the figures, powerful indeed, but very extravagant, indicate a date of composition nearer to 1597 than to 1602? I may just observe that line 235, as it stands in the Quarto, is certainly very prodigious, but I think there is something wrong in the printing, as the line (reduced to regularity) recurs in

6.

IV. iv. 284-344:

IV. iv. 398.

"K. Rich. Come, come, you mock me; this is not the way To win your daughter.

Q. Eliz. There is no other way; Unless thou couldst put on some other shape, And not be Richard that hath done all this.

[K. Rich. Say that I did all this for love of her.

Q. Eliz. Nay, then indeed she cannot choose but hate thee, Having bought love with such a bloody spoil.

K. Rich. Look, what is done cannot be now amended: Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes, Which after-hours give leisure to repent. If I did take the kingdom from your sons, To make amends, I'll give it to your daughter. If I have kill'd the issue of your womb, To quicken your increase, I will beget Mine issue of your blood upon your daughter: A grandam's name is little less in love Than is the doting title of a mother; They are as children but one step below, Even of your mettle, of your very blood; Of all one pain, save for a night of groans Endured of her, for whom you bid like sorrow. Your children were vexation to your youth, But mine shall be a comfort to your age. The loss you have is but a son being king, And by that loss your daughter is made queen. I cannot make you what amends I would, Therefore accept such kindness as I can. Dorset your son, that with a fearful soul Leads discontented steps in foreign soil, This fair alliance quickly shall call home To high promotions and great dignity: The king that calls your beauteous daughter wife, Familiarly shall call thy Dorset brother; Again shall you be mother to a king, And all the ruins of distressful times Repair'd with double riches of content. What! we have many goodly days to see: The liquid drops of tears that you have shed Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl, Advantaging their loan with interest Of ten times double gain of happiness. Go, then, my mother, to thy daughter go; Make bold her bashful years with your experience; Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale; Put in her tender heart the aspiring flame Of golden sovereignty; acquaint the princess With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys: And when this arm of mine hath chastised The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham, Bound with triumphant garlands will I come And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed; To whom I will retail my conquest won, And she shall be sole victress, Cæsar's Cæsar. Q. Eliz. What were I best to say? Her father's brother Would be her lord? Or shall I say, her uncle?

Or, he that slew her brothers and her uncles?
Under what title shall I woo for thee,
That God, the law, my honour and her love
Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

K. Rich. Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.
Q. Eliz. Which she shall purchase with still lasting war."

With regard to the inserted passage, I cannot do better than quote the words of a very sound Shaksperian critic,—Mr Howard Staunton: -" Is it credible" (he asks) "that so accomplished a master of stagecraft as Shakspere, after witnessing the representation of Richard III., would have added above 80 lines to the longest scene in this or perhaps any other play? Is it not far more probable that these lines in Act IV., those touching the young prince's train in Act II., the nine in Gloucester's mock reply to the Mayor and Buckingham, and some others, formed originally part of the text and were omitted to accelerate the action?" The lines themselves are certainly good lines,-"the sweet silent hours of marriage joys" is, I think, worthy of Shakspere at his best,—the metre is very smooth, and the proportion of run-on lines to end-pause lines is rather high, viz. about one in But there are passages of similar length in the Quarto, of which as much might be said. Take Gloucester's opening soliloquy, for example: there the proportion is higher still, being about one in three.

I have now quoted all the passages peculiar to the Folio which are of any length, and I think the reader will agree with me, first, that these passages have not at all the appearance of subsequent additions, and secondly, that there is not any marked difference, esthetical or metrical, between them and the context as it stands in the Quarto, allowance of course being made for the 'dressing up,' which no doubt they have undergone in common with the rest of the play.

There remains only one topic more upon which I wish to make a few observations. According to Mr Spedding's statement, there are 350 divergencies of the Folio from the Quarto which the Cambridge editors have admitted (by implication) to be Shakspere's; how (it may be asked) do I reconcile this fact with my belief that Shakspere never revised the play? In the first place, let me quote the Editors' own words respecting the principle which has induced them to admit some of the Folio readings. "We prefer" (they say) "the risk of putting in something which Shakspere did not to that of leaving out something which he did write." Again, in many cases (not covered by the foregoing principle) the Cambridge editors have, I think, preferred the Folio to the Quarto, when to do so was inconsistent with their own plan as laid down in the Preface. These two classes of cases deducted would, no doubt, reduce the total of 350 very considerably. In the second place, I accept the theory (for which sound

reasons have, I think, been suggested in the course of this inquiry) that the first Quarto was printed from a stage-copy of the play. Nothing is more probable than that a considerable number of variations from the author's MS. had crept into this copy. Lastly, I appeal to the carelessness of the printer. The Quarto-text, says Mr Howard Staunton, is "execrably deformed by printing-office blunders." If in the Folio-text, which is printed with comparative accuracy, there are over eighty errors or alterations attributed by Mr Spedding to the printer, we shall be quite safe in putting down a vastly larger number to the account of the printer of the Quarto. Due allowance being made for the operation of all these causes, I do not think that the amount of variation of the Quarto from what I conceive to be the true Shaksperian text will appear at all incredible.

Let me now briefly sum up the results of this inquiry. I began with an examination of Mr Spedding's Paper. Of the 80 examples pronounced by Mr Spedding himself to be non-Shaksperian, I showed that about 50 cannot fairly be attributed to any one but the corrector. of the play; hence it would follow that the corrector was not Shakspere. Passing on to the "alterations made to improve the metre," I showed that in one instance at least there is a clear sacrifice of the sense, pure and simple, and that in a large number of instances the metrical improvement is attained "by weakening the vigour, and marring the propriety, of the language." Coming next to the "alterations made to avoid the recurrence of the same word," I cited four of them which Shakspere (in my opinion at least) cannot be supposed to have made: I added that he may have made the others, but that it did not require a Shakspere to make them. With regard to the "alterations made to avoid obsolete phrases," I showed (1) that in some of the cases cited the alteration is not made as regularly as Mr Spedding supposes, and (2) that some of the tabooed words occur in Shakspere's plays written about the date assigned by Mr Spedding to the revision of Richard III. Next, of the 19 examples cited as "alterations made to remove defects not apparent to the Cambridge editors," I gave reasons for believing three to be non-Shaksperian. Lastly, with regard to the "alterations in the stage-directions," I showed that the stage-directions of the Folio are more consistent with the text of the Quarto than are the stage-directions of the Quarto itself; and hence I inferred that the stage-directions of the Folio must have formed part of the play as it was originally written. Having dealt thus fully with Mr Spedding's paper, I responded to the challenge which he offers to "those who agree with the Cambridge editors," by quoting 45 passages in which "something original, striking, or foreible in idea or expression in the Quarto is diluted into common-place in the Folio; or in which a turn of phrase thoroughly Shaksperian is modified precisely as a prosaic reviser might be expected to modify it." Next, I quoted at length all

the considerable passages peculiar to the Folio, with a view to show that these passages have not at all the appearance of subsequent additions, and that there is not any marked difference, æsthetical or metrical, between them and the context as it stands in the Quarto. And lastly, I showed that the variations of the Quarto from the Folio where the latter has the true Shaksperian reading may be reasonably accounted for without sacrificing my theory that Shakspere never revised the play. I have nothing to add, except to ask for a candid consideration of the views which I have set forth in this paper, upon their merits.

MR ALDIS WRIGHT said that his remarks were, to a great extent, anticipated by Mr Pickersgill. The question was one into which individual taste very largely entered, and consequently it was scarcely possible to expect unanimity of opinion. Two theories were propounded; one, that the text of the Folios had been altered from that of the Quartos, or Shakspere's original MS., by some one who was not Shakspere: the other, that of Mr Spedding, that the changes might have been made by Shakspere with the assistance of the demons of the printing office. On the whole Mr Wright preferred to believe in the former theory as more consistent with his reverence for the author. He was unwilling to think that Shakspere at the busiest time of his life should have occupied himself with such minute changes as 'who' for 'which,' 'kill' for 'slay,' 'between' for 'betwixt,' 'while' for 'whilst,' 'I' (i. e. ay) for 'yea,' and the like, or that when he was engaged upon his greatest works he had so fallen below himself in taste of expression and vigour of versification as to alter both language and metre of the Quartos in most instances for the worse. Many of the changes were doubtless due to the actors, some to the printers; and provided they were not attributed to Shakspere, it was not necessary to be careful about assigning them. Mr Wright then read the passage from the Preface to Vol. v. of the Cambridge Shakespeare, and contended that it was

1 "The respective origin and authority of the first Quarto and first Folio texts of *Richard III.* is perhaps the most difficult question which presents itself to an editor of Shakespeare. In the case of most of the plays a brief survey leads him to form a definite judgment; in this, the most attentive examination scarcely enables him to propose with confidence a hypothetical conclusion.

"The Quarto, QI, contains passages not found in the Folio, FI, which are essential to the understanding of the context: the Folio, on the other hand, contains passages equally essential, which are not found in the Quarto.

"Again, passages which in the Quarto are complete and consecutive, are amplified in the Folio, the expanded text being quite in the manner of Shakespeare. The Folio, too, contains passages not in the Quartos, which, though not necessary to the sense, yet harmonize so well, in sense and tone, with the context, that we can have no hesitation in attributing them to the author himself.

"On the other hand, we find in the Folio some insertions and many

guarded in expression, and would be found to be justified by a comparison of the readings of the Quartos and Folios as given in the notes.

[Dr Brinsley Nicholson also joind in this Discussion. His remarks will be printed later in the volume, after his return from Switzerland.—F.]

1 Henry IV., II. iii. 90. "A correspondent, writing from Baltimore, asks: Is it not likely that Shakspere, in giving that trait of Hotspur's Kate,

'Indeed, I'll break thy little finger, Harry,
If thou wilt not tell me true'—

[I. K. Henry IV., II. iii.]

had in mind the following passage of Polydore Vergil, referring to the same lady?

'Saeva in familiares, petulans etiam erga maritum, cujus secreta se exquaesituram minitabat, vel frangendo digitorum ossicula, si veritatem pandere constantius recusaret' (xxvi. 2).

The old historian seems to think it a rather serious business. It is odd that this has escaped the notice of all the Shaksperean commentators I have access to."—Nation, 11 March 1875.

alterations which we may with equal certainty affirm not to be due to Shake-speare. Sometimes the alterations seem merely arbitrary, but more frequently they appear to have been made in order to avoid the recurrence of the same word, even where the recurrence adds to the force of the passage, or to correct a supposed defect of metre, although the metre cannot be amended except by spoiling the sense.

"Occasionally we seem to find indications that certain turns of phrase, uses of words or metrical licences, familiar enough to Shakespeare and his earlier contemporaries, had become obsolete in the time of the corrector, and the passages modified accordingly. In short, *Richard III*, seems even before the publication of the Folio to have been tampered with by a nameless transcriber who worked in the spirit, though not with the audacity, of Colley Cibber."

II. ON THE QUARTO AND FOLIO OF KING LEAR.1

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(Taken as) Read at the 15th Meeting of the New Shakspere Society, April 9, 1875.

In the seventh volume of the German Shakspere Society's Yearbook I have attempted to solve the problem of the original text of one of Shakspere's dramas, King Richard III., more exactly than has hitherto been done. This investigation entails another which is no less difficult and complicated. It is to examine, and if possible to come to at least a plausible decision on the question of the original text of King Lear. In fact, if we set aside those dramas of Shakspere's of which we possess two entirely different editions in complete double texts-Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, Merry Wives of Windsor, and Henry V.—we find no work of our poet, except Richard III., the Folio text of which differs in so many particulars from the Quarto text as King Lear. We inquired in the case of Richard III. whether and in what manner these numerous discrepancies in all parts of the drama could be referred to any revision on the part of the poet. This same investigation will occupy us now, and we will examine the question closely, because most critics incline to the opinion that Shakspere revised the text of King Lear, as well as that of Richard III., with his own hand. The object of the following considerations is to refute this view.

We will begin our investigation with the editio princeps of King Lear, or rather, with two separate editions of this drama which

¹ For the translation of this Paper the Society is indebted to Miss Eva G. Gordon, of Pixholme, Dorking. Its original appears contemporaneously with this in the 10th volume of the German Shakspere Society's *Yearbook*.

were published in London in small Quarto by Nathaniel Butter in the They were not reprinted until the publication of year 1608. Shakspere's collected dramas in Folio in 1623. Before the Cambridge editors had completed their collection of different copies of the Quartos, and published the result in the preface to the eighth volume of their edition, a third Quarto was supposed to have appeared in the same year, 1608, and its distinctiveness was supported by Malone's and Boswell's bibliographical criticisms. The Cambridge editors have proved to us that the discrepancies between this third Quarto and the two others which appeared in the same year, are only such as are to be found between different copies of the same edition of King Lear. We shall have to refer again to the most important differences in this same supposed third edition which we find in our collection of Quarto texts. We shall perceive in the evident carelessness of this first printing the reason of the occasional inconsequent attempts of compositors or printers to correct a flagrant misprint on the spot, without reference to the MS. Naturally these weak and improvised attempts at correction, on the part of a thoroughly weak and incompetent hand, could have no essential influence on the text which, for the rest, is nearly identical in the two Quartos. We are, therefore, justified in considering the Quarto text as a whole, and in comparing it, as such, with the Folio text.

These two Quartos were published, as mentioned above, by N. Butter in 1608, without any participation or authorisation on the part of the poet or of the players, 'the King's servants,' who, according to the title page, performed the piece before King James, at Whitehall, at Christmas time. ("As it was plaid before the Kings maiesty at Whitehall upon St Stephens night in Christmas Hollidaies. By his Maiesties Seruants playing usually at the Globe on the Banck-side.") N. Butter entered his edition in the Stationer's Register in November, 1607, with the same notice of the performance at the court. This performance must accordingly have taken place in 1606, and apparently after the representation of the piece at the Globe theatre during the summer of 1606. That King Lear was brought on the boards a year earlier, is probable from the reprint of the drama, by an anonymous editor in 1605, "The True Chronicle History of

King Lear," etc. This reprint, intended to deceive the public, would perhaps have never been undertaken if N. Butter had, at that time, been able to obtain a MS. of Shakspere's King Lear. When he did obtain one some years later, he entitled his Quarto, with evident reference to this older edition, falsely offered for sale as Shakspere's-"M. William Shake-speare"—in the other Quarto "Shak-speare"— "HIS True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear and his three daughters." As here, through the printing in large type, the 'His' is designedly prominent, so are the names Edgar and Tom in the title-page, to draw attention to the popular characters which are peculiar to Shakspere and are not found in the older drama. "With the unfortunate life of EDGAR sonne and heire to the Earle of Glocester"—in the other Quarto "Gloster"—"and his sullen and assumed humour of TOM of Bedlam." There can hardly be a doubt that this list of contents, made so attractive to buyers, is Butter's own invention, and not to be found in the MS. from which his drama was printed. Similar lists of contents described for the market are often found on the title-pages of the Quartos of Shakspere, when we compare them with the far simpler titles of the Folio.

If only N. Butter had bestowed the same care on the printing of his book that he did on the composition of his title-page! But in this respect it is wanting in everything that even the most modest reader is justified in demanding. The editor was so lucky as to possess an almost complete copy of the play as performed before King James at Whitehall, and the public at the Globe. But this copy must have been very careless and unreadable, for otherwise the innumerable mistakes, faulty versification, and omissions of the printers, are almost inexplicable. The mistakes arose for the most part from the compositor substituting, for any word which he could not read. the word which looked most like it in Ductus Literarum, without paying much respect to any meaning at all, much less to Shakspere's meaning. The faulty versification is connected with the omissions; for these latter, for the most part particles or monosyllables, have naturally spoilt the blank verse. But small attention was paid to this in the Quartos, particularly in the printing of them, and apparently even in the original MS. copy it was neglected and misunderstood. King Lear and King Richard III. have often been put as parallel cases. But more closely observed, there is also a great discrepancy between them. A complete copy of the theatre MS. as it then existed was the foundation of the editio princeps of both dramas. But while the editor of the first Quarto of King Richard III. thought he could not do enough to improve his text for himself and for the public, the editor of the Quarto of King Lear neglected the commonest duties of his office. So he, from doing too little, produced a text which differed as much from the original words of the poet as that of the editor of King Richard III., who failed from doing too much. In my former dissertation I attempted to prove these assertions with regard to King Richard III.; it is now incumbent on me to do the same by King Lear.

We will begin with those various readings in the Quartos which we may call errors of the scribe, or misprints, according as we refer them to mistakes in the MS. or in the printing—it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. The characteristic sign of these is, as before mentioned, the nearest possible resemblance of the *Ductus Literarum* without any particular reference to the sense which is sometimes given, sometimes not, sometimes partially. For want of space we do not generally quote the whole context, but only the wrong reading first, followed by the right reading of the Folio text. The lines are numbered from the Cambridge edition.

Act I. sc. i. first intent—fast intent (l. 36). Conferring—Confirming (l. 38). mistresse—mysteries (l. 108). diseases—disasters (l. 173). friendship—freedom (l. 180). you for voucht affections—your fore-vouch'd affections (l. 219).

Act I. sc. ii. for your liking—for your o'er-looking (l. 38). spirituall predominance—spherical predominance (l. 117). mine—my cue (l. 128). them of Bedlam—Tom o' Bedlam (l. 128).

Act I. sc. iv. pestilent gull—pestilent gall (l. 109). Either his notion weaknesse, or his discernings are lethergy—Either his notion weakens, or his discernings are lethargied (l. 221—222). a great palace—a graced palace (l. 239). thou lessen my traine and—thou liest. My train are (l. 256-7). thourt disnatur'd—thwart disnatur'd (l. 277). should make the worst blasts—should make thee worth them. Blasts (l. 293). upon the untender—upon thee! The untented (l. 293-4). better ought—better oft (l. 341).

Act II. sc. i. Which must ask breefenesse and fortune helpe-Which I must act. Briefness and fortune work! (l. 18). warbling -mumbling (l. 38). threatning-threading (l. 119).

Act II. sc. ii. to intrench to inloose—too intrinse to unloose (l. 70). dialogue—dialect (l. 104). stopping—stocking (l. 127)

Act II. sc. iii. service—farmes (l. 17). (That the compositor here, as in other cases, followed the Ductus Literarum becomes clear if we imagine 'service' written with a long s [f].

Act II. sc. iv. hence—home (l. 1). heeles—heads (l. 8). meere Iustice—mere fetches (l. 85). look'd backe upon me—look'd black upon me (l. 156). not the deed—not the need (l. 261). to beare it lamely—to bear it tamely (l. 273).

Act III. sc. i. warrant of my arte—warrant of my note (l. 18).

Act III. sc. ii. carterickes and Hircanios-cataracts and hurricanoes (l. 2). concealend centers—concealing continents (l. 58). more sinned against their sinning—more sinned against than sinning (l. 60).

Act III. sc. iv. Save what beates their filiall ingratitude—Save what beats there. Filial ingratitude! (l. 14). to the dark towneto the dark tower (l. 175).

Act III. sc. vii. I am true—I am none (l. 32). Unbridle all the sparks—enkindle all the sparks (l. 85).

Act IV. sc. i. Stands still in experience-stands still in esperance (l. 4). I cannot dance it—I cannot daub it (l. 53). Stands your ordinance—Slaves your ordinance (l. 68). under excess—undo excess (l. 70). Looks firmely—Looks fearfully (l. 74).

Act IV. sc. ii. A mistress coward—A mistress's command (l. 21). an eye descerving—an eye discerning (l. 52). The news is not so tooke—The news is not so tart (l. 89).

Act IV. sc. vi. her cock above—her cock a buoy (l. 19). the dread summons—the dread summit (l. 57). consummation—consumption (l. 128). a dogge so bad in office—a dog's obeyed in office (l. 156). to shoot a troop of horse with fell—to shoe a troop of horse with felt (l. 189). fenced from my griefs—sever'd from my griefs (l. 282). As above, Act II. sc. iii. service—farmer.

Act IV. sc. vii. Mine iniurious dog-Mine enemy's dog (l. 36). N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1875.

Act V. sc. i. Hard is the guess-Here is the guess (l. 52).

Act V. sc. iii. The which immediate—The which immediacy (l. 66). Conspicuote—Conspirant (l. 136). (O father)—O fault! (l. 193).

When we consider in detail this class of various readings, the number of which might have been made much more considerable, it is evident that the hand of the poet could have had nothing to do with them. In other words, Shakspere wrote only what stands in the Folio text. As little could the poet have had to do with the attempts at improvement which are to be found in some copies of the Cambridge collation of Quartos. A few examples may be given here of those corrections of the printers who were themselves struck by the nonsense printed in the Quartos.

Act II. sc. ii. You stubborn ancient knave (l. 160). For 'ancient', which alone can be right, 'ansrent' was first printed, following the *Ductus Literarum*, as may still be seen in a copy in the Bodleian Library. As a mere conjecture, this nonsense was altered to 'miscreant', and this is the present reading in the Quartos.

Ibid. Nothing almost sees miracles (l. 160). Apparently 'miracles' was spelt by the unorthographical scribe 'myrackles', and this was separated in the printing into 'my rackles', in the above-mentioned copy in the Bodleian Library. This has been altered in most copies of the Quartos, with apparent sense, to 'my wracke.'

Act II. sc. i. To have th' expence and wast of his revenues (l. 100). So the Folio. For 'th' expence', which cannot have been very clearly written in the MS., the compositor of the Quarto first substituted 'these—'. In some copies the gap was afterwards filled up from pure conjecture as 'the wast and spoyle'.

Act III. sc. iv. Thou think'st 'tis much that this contentious storm (l. 6). 'Contentious' was apparently not quite clear in the MS., so the Quartos print 'crulentious', which in some copies has been corrected into 'tempestuous.'

Act III. sc. vi. Take up, take up
And follow me (l. 94-5).

The Quartos connected the second 'take up', and then sense-

lessly separated it into 'to keepe': in other copies it is conjecturally corrected to 'Take up the king'.

IV. ii. France spreads his banners in our noiseless land; With plumed helm thy slayer begins threats (l. 56-7).

For 'slayer', the real reading of the Quartos, in some copies 'state' is printed; and for 'threats', 'thereat'. Following this reading, Staunton, and with him the Cambridge editors, connect 'begins' with the subject 'France': "thy state begins to threat". Alas! the help of the Folio here fails us, for it altogether omits this passage.

We can no more recognize the hand of the poet in these corrections than in the list, given above, of similar readings in the Quartos themselves. They were made during the printing without any reference to the MS., and form some of the most senseless readings of the Quartos. Other variations from the Folio text are scattered through the play, which we must consider as either wilfully or carelessly introduced. They are far more numerous than the former deviations which arose from wrong reading or writing. The Quartos, for example, often substitute a different particle, auxiliary verb, pronoun, or numeral for the one we find in the corresponding passage in the They often put 'my', 'thy', etc., where the Folio puts 'mine', 'thine', before a substantive beginning with a vowel: and 'has' where the Folio puts 'hath'. We choose only a few from the numerous examples before us of these variations which we meet with on every side; they will be sufficient for our purpose. We will take the Folio as a foundation and compare the differences in the Quartos.

Act I. sc. i. Meantime we shall express our darker purpose—Qq. 'will' and 'purposes'.

Ibid. Dearer than eyesight, space and liberty-Qq. or.

Ibid. I do invest you jointly with my power-Qq. in.

Act I. sc. ii. If thou be'st as poor for a subject—Qq. be. But where's my fool—Qq. this

Act I. sc. iv. He that keeps nor crust nor crumb-Qq. neither.

Ibid. Which in the tender of a wholesome weal-Qq. that.

Ibid. But let his disposition have that scope

As dotage gives it-Qq. That.

To this kind of variations, introduced wilfully or through indiffer-

ence, belongs also the exchanging of one synonym for another, which often causes the Quarto to differ from the Folio. It is very rarely that there is the slightest reason for such alteration, such as the choice of an expression supposed to be more striking. Usually it seems to have been purely a matter of fancy. A few examples, here too chosen from among a great number, will suffice.

Act I. sc. i. When majesty falls to folly—Qq. stoops.

Ibid. Where it is mingled with regards—Qq. respects.

Act I. sc. iii. If he *distaste* it, let him to my sister—Qq. dislike. Act I. sc. v. Shall not be a maid long, *unless* things be cut shorter—Qq. except.

Act II. sc. i. Bringing the murderous coward to the stake—Qq. caitiff.

Act II. sc. ii. You come with letters against the King—Qq. bring.

Ibid. When he *compact* and flattering his displeasure—Qq. conjunct.

Perhaps this last variation belongs more properly to the class before described, namely, errors in the reading or writing. This doubt obtains also in many other cases.

In my treatise on the text of King Richard III., I have already remarked that these variations, which are merely substitutions of synonyms, have no weight in determining the superior authority either of the Folio or of the Quarto. For our purpose the question must be put as follows—"Is it probable that Shakspere—supposing that he revised the text—would have given himself the trouble of making all these innumerable minute alterations without any apparent reason, instead of making any deeper and more essential improvement? Or, is it not more probable that some copyist,—who attached but little importance to Shakspere's words as such,—in the haste of his work, substituted, either wilfully or carelessly, an expression which occurred to him, a particle, a mood, or a numeral, for the one used in the original?"

If the authority of the Quartos on the question of the original text of *King Lear* has been only indirectly, not directly, shaken by the preceding class of various readings, it suffers a ruder shock from

the following examination of another peculiarity of the editio princeps. I mean, the gaps and omissions which it exhibits. We must bring this point sharply to the front, because the Quarto of King Lear is far more complete than the Folio. This, regarded from a merely quantitative point of view, has always been considered a great superiority on the side of the older edition, and, to a certain extent, rightly considered so. It is true that if we only possessed the Folio text of this drama, -consequently that text which the Shaksperian company of players made use of after Shakspere had ceased to participate personally in the scenical representations,—we should have to give up many portions of the tragedy, which had been noticed at the Globe, or at the palace at Whitehall, while Shakspere remained in connection with the theatre. These portions were incorporated in the Quarto text with the original theatre MS. We will, farther on, consider these gaps in the Folio text; we have first to do with the omissions in the Quarto. These, though apparently trifling, are very characteristic of the arrangement and real quality of the text. They are characteristic in two ways. First, as a proof of the carelessness with which the copyist, or the printer, passed over small words, even if he did not leave them out entirely, as not needed for his idea of the sense. Secondly, as a proof of his entire want of comprehension of the verse, which was naturally spoiled by these omissions, and sometimes by the wilful addition of other words. This ignorance of metre is displayed, as we observed before, through the whole of the Quarto text—verse being substituted for prose—prose for verse.1

Here, too, we will quote a few examples out of many.

Act I. se. i. Only she comes too short—Qq. came short.

Act I. sc. iv. That you protect this course and put it on-'it' is omitted in the Qq.

Act II. sc. i. O Madam, my old heart is crack'd, is crack'd-'O Madam' is omitted in the Qq.

Although such an unquestionably popular drama, the two Quartos of 1608 were the only editions of King Lear published before the Folio of 1623. This fact has been ascribed to the exertions of the Shaksperian company of players, who contrived to prevent the issue of any fresh edition of the Quartos. A more likely explanation is, that the editor of King Lear found no good market among the public for such an unreadable text as he had produced, and therefore did not care to reprint it.

Act II. sc. iv. The night before there was no purpose in them—
'in them' is omitted in the Qq.

Act III. sc. vi. Now, my good lord, lie here and rest a while— 'and rest' is omitted in the Qq.

Act III. sc. vii. Though well we may not pass upon his life—'well' is omitted in the Qq.

Ibid. I have served you ever, since I was a child—'you' is omitted in the Qq.

Act IV. sc. ii. You are not worth the dust which the rude wind —'rude' is omitted in the Qq.

Act V. sc. iii. What comfort to this great delay may come-'great' is omitted in the Qq.

It is clear that no hypothetical revision of the text by Shakspere amended the irregular blank verse of the Quartos by restoring the words which are wanting in them. The poet must have written the lines in the first instance as they stand in the Folio text. Yet the case is less clear, at the first glance, when we come to consider the omission, not of single words, but of whole sentences and—though this last occurs but seldom—of long passages. Many critics have questioned whether these passages, instead of being omitted from the Quartos, were not added to the original when Shakspere made his supposed revision of the text. We will examine this view of the question narrowly, for it is a very attractive one. Considered in itself, it would certainly appear improbable that the revision, the result of which is supposed to be the Folio, was undertaken in order to restore passages previously omitted because the play was too long for representation. But we shall come to a surer decision if we observe the separate instances, and consider whether the supposed abridgements in the Quarto text are not real gaps which Shakspere could not possibly have left himself in his original work.

There is a striking example of such a gap in King Lear's first speech in the Quarto, which can hardly be a later addition in the Folio. The passage—'while we...now' (l. 38—43) is omitted; and 'Since... state' (47-8). In the former we are deprived of what was indispensable to the audience—the introduction by name of Lear's two sons-in-law, and the decisive promise of the dowries of their wives.

In the latter, the description of the whole extent of these dowries is just as necessary. In Lear's speech to Gordelia (l. 81-3), the equally indispensable reference to her two suitors is omitted; also farther on (l. 86-7), Lear's astonished question 'nothing?' and Cordelia's quiet decided answer 'nothing!' It is quite incredible that this cardinal point in the drama, on which everything turns, should have been only an afterthought of the poet. Naturally, all this must have been contained in the original text, and have been either wilfully or carelessly omitted by the compositor of the Quarto. In the same way, Act I. sc. ii. (l. 45), the words "This policy and reverence of age" have been deprived of all meaning through the omission of 'and reverence.' On this 'reverence of old age' depends the 'policy' which forbids sons to inherit during their fathers' life. Just as thoughtlessly has the editor omitted the passage in which Gloster speaks of the eclipse of the sun and moon as an evil omen, especially affecting his family and the king's; this alone accounts for its introduction. That this passage,—'This villain . . . graves' (l. 103-8),—omitted in the Quartos, was in the original text, is evident from Edmund's monologue, which follows, and is directly connected with it.

In Act I. sc. iv. (l. 58) 'of kindness' is left out, so that one does not know what sort of 'abatement' the knight means; and (l. 268)—"Of what hath moved you"—so that Albany speaks most naïvely of his ignorance in general:—"My lord, I am guiltless as I am ignorant."

Act II. sc. iv. (l. 14—21). The poet must have composed the spirited dialogue, in which Lear and Kent interrupt and browbeat each other, just as it stands in the Folio. Kent's characteristic reply, "By Juno, I swear ay" to Lear's assertion, "By Jupiter, I swear no" is omitted in the Quartos. If this makes it appear mutilated, the words cannot have been a later addition. The case is quite different when the Folio leaves a gap also, as when it omits 'No...have' (l. 18-19).

Act II. sc. iv. l. 136—141 is left out in the Quartos. Lear consequently never notices Regan's assurance that he did not appreciate Goneril's worth, strange as it must have appeared to him. This deprives Regan of the welcome pretext for justifying

still farther her sister's conduct to her father. In this case, as in so many others, the metre shows that what is omitted was originally present, for the half verse—"Then she to scant her duty"—is only completed by the following:—"Say, how is that?"

The first scene of the third Act has been much abridged in the Folio (as it was considered hardly necessary for the purposes of the action). We will consider this question further on. The Quarto also cuts out the passage—(l. 22—9) "Who have . . . furnishings"—referring to the impending quarrel between Cornwall and Albany, which, coupled with their ill-treatment of Lear, renders necessary the intervention of France. In the Quartos, the verse—"But true it is from France there comes a power"—follows immediately on the mutilated beginning of this explanation, "There is division . . . and Cornwall." The editor overlooked the fact that "But true it is" referred to what he omitted, not to what he retained in his text.

Act III. sc. ii. concludes with an apostrophe of the fool to the public, which is clad in the garb of a parody of a prophecy. This has no particular connection with the drama, and may be omitted without prejudice to the plot, as it has been omitted in the Quartos. But it is another question whether Shakspere, in revising it, took the trouble to introduce a stereotyped fool's interlude merely meant to amuse the public, particularly as the drama rather required curtailing than amplifying?

Act III. sc. vi. l. 12—15 is omitted in the Quartos. "No... before him," and with it the answer which the fool himself gave to his question, "Whether a madman be a gentleman or a yeoman?" as Lear's answer, "A king, a king," did not please him. So here also is an evident gap.

In Edgar's monologue at the beginning of the fourth Act, the words "Welcome then . . . blasts" (l. 6—9) are omitted in the Quartos. They must have been in the original text, for in them he applies to his own circumstances comforting reflections on experience in general. The editor, when he cut them out, certainly was not aware how indispensable they were. He perceived, however, that the omission of them disturbed the metre, and accordingly altered

the "But who comes here" of the Folio into "Who is here?" metre all through the Quartos is so careless, that these corrections merit consideration. Perhaps we do the editor of the editio princeps too much honour—considering his usual practices—in supposing that he here for once had regard to the metre. His substitution of "Who is here?" for "But who comes here?" may be only one of the many purely wilful alterations of the text which he has allowed himself. Especially he has altered and omitted much in Lear's mad speeches (Act IV. sc. vi.), not understanding the context. Lear mistakes Gloster for Goneril, and is astonished at her white beard, which reminds him of his own. "Ha! Goneril! with a white beard! They flattered me like a dog; and told me I had the white hairs in my beard, ere black ones were there." The poet cannot have added this in the Folio text: it must have been in the For if the Quartos omit "with a white beard!" and substitute "ha! Regan!" apparently because it is followed by the plural, "They flattered," &c., the sense is entirely destroyed. Farther on (l. 51) we miss "change place and," and the whole sentence becomes meaningless. Lastly, the Quartos leave out the passage, "Plate sin . . . accuser's lips" (l. 103-8), and so destroy the evidently personal bearing of the following words, "Get thee glass eyes," on the blind Gloster, whom Lear, in the omitted passage, directly addresses as 'my friend.'

Act IV. sc. vii. l. 61 is omitted in the Quartos, "not an hour more nor less," with which the poet concludes the preceding sentence, "Fourscore and upwards." These words are not intended to define the time more exactly, but as an indication of Lear's slowly and partially returning reason. As the whole forms only one verse, it is probable that the poet wrote it so originally. It is evident from considerations of metre, that the words, "And machination ceases," Act V. sc. i. (l. 46), which are omitted in the Quartos, were in the original text, for they are almost indispensable as a conclusion to the whole passage.

Act V. sc. iii. The Quartos leave out the words, "Dispose of them, the walls are thine" (l. 77), whereby the sense of the preceding passage is rendered incomplete. When Regan yields not

only all her possessions, but her own person also to Edmund, it was necessary that the poet should speak clearly at first, and not have afterwards added to the Folio text the words which are omitted in the The editor seems no more to have understood the metaphor, "the walls are thine," than he afterwards (l. 90) understood Goneril's scornful ejaculation, "An interlude," and therefore Farther on we miss the words, "What safe he simply omitted it. and nicely I might well delay" (l. 145) in the Quartos, which contain the object (or accusative clause) of the verbs 'disdain' and 'spurn' in the following line. The mutilated sentence is completely meaningless. Not much better, in regard to omissions, is the treatment of a following passage (l. 225-6), where the nobleman enters with the bloody knife which he has drawn from Regan's deathwound. There the words, "O, she's dead," are suppressed; and Albany's question, "Who dead ? speak, man," is cut down to "Who, man? speak." This correction was never made by the poet, but could only originate in the carelessness with which the Quartos were Neither could Shakspere have added afterwards (l. 256) the words referring to Cordelia's supposed suicide, "that she fordid herself," merely because they are not in the Quartos. Lastly, the words (l. 283) "This is a dull sight," in which Lear laments the weakness of his eyesight, which prevents his at once recognizing his friend Kent, are omitted. Perhaps their meaning was no clearer to the editor of the Quartos than it has been to many commentators and translators since. Capell partly explained the words, and amended the versification, by altering it to "This sight of mine is a dull sight." The editor of the Quartos found it simpler to omit it.

From the gaps in the Quarto text, which we have proved to be real omissions from the original text, and not later additions in the Folio, we turn to the gaps in this latter. It is easier to explain their cause, for they are much more considerable in extent—about 220 verses altogether. Their object is merely to shorten the drama, which may have proved too long for representation. The reason of these cuts in the Folio is, that it was edited from a later theatre MS. So far then all is clear. The more complicated question which we have to consider is, whether this abridgment was made with or

without the concurrence of the poet; whether it was made by him or by his players. In the course of representation, the drama apparently proved to be longer than desirable. In this case it appears at first sight most natural that the poet who had written it for his own company, being himself also an actor, should himself abridge it. But, on the other hand, we must take into consideration the indifference with which Shakspere allowed the company for which he wrote to do as they pleased with his plays. He seems never to have troubled himself about their fate or literary future; so it is most likely that he bestowed no personal care on his King Lear when it was re-arranged for performance. He must have left his MS. entirely to those whom it most concerned, namely, the actors at the Globe Theatre. This appears still more probable when we remember that, at the time that King Lear was abridged, Shakspere had ceased to be an active member of the theatre, and, separated from the company and far from London, was enjoying a quiet life at Stratford. We may presume from the appearance of the Quartos in 1608, and from their title-pages, that King Lear was then still being performed entire. At that time even Shakspere was probably no longer an actor, but was living on his rents at Stratford. Is it probable that at that time, or later—for the play may have been abridged later—the actors would have applied to the absent, distant author, to fit his drama for scenical representation? Particularly as this would appear to them to be such a simple process that they could easily undertake it themselves. This drama was, like all Shakspere's other dramas, their property, which they could treat as they pleased. The manner in which it has been treated to fit it for the stage, strengthens our conviction that we see here the work of the actors and not of the poet. Had Shakspere, in the leisure of his Stratford life, re-examined his drama with a view to altering it, his revision would have left deeper traces on it than is the case. People have always endeavoured to discover these traces in the numerous-or innumerable-minute differences between the Folio and the Quarto text. But after our previous investigations have placed the real relations of the two texts in the right light, the only possible trace of this possible revision is the omissions in the Folio.

Also, it is very doubtful whether the actors would have thanked the poet for a complete revision of the text, such as has been presumed. We saw in the case of *Richard III*. what awful confusion the restudying of a text, altered in a thousand particulars from the original, would introduce among the actors. Especially when the piece had long been studied in its older form. The difficulty which, in accordance with this supposition, we had to prove in the representation of *King Richard III*., would be repeated in the case now under consideration. The actors did not want a revised text of *King Lear*, but only one somewhat abridged.

Having weighed the external evidence against Shakspere's participation in the abridgment of King Lear, let us proceed to examine the internal evidence. Especially we must consider whether these omissions are effected in the poet's own manner, or whether they are repugnant to the spirit of his dramatic art. Also whether they are not specially so with regard to this work. As a whole, it is evident that care has been taken to spare as much as possible, and only to cut out such passages as are merely ornamental, and are not necessary for the plot, or for the development of the characters.1 But there is a great difference between the actors' idea of what is necessary, and the poet's. The actors see in the play merely a certain number of leading and secondary characters to be divided amongst them, and to be separately studied according to the taste of the The poet views his play as an edifice, out of individual. the architectural structure of which no part can be taken without damaging the whole building. Shakspere himself certainly did not consider any part of his King Lear superfluous; if he had, he would not have written it. Let us now consider the passages which are supposed to be not indispensable, that is, the passages which are omitted in the Folio text.

The explanatory scene Act I. sc. i. remains intact, but the second

¹ At first this consideration decided me, like other editors of Shakspere, to ascribe to our poet a participation in this part of the arrangement of the Folio text. On closer examination, I found this view to be untenable, and was compelled to abandon it. I remark this in passing, that I may not be reproached with the inconsistency of the Introduction to my edition of King Lear with the view taken in the present article.

scene betrays another than the poet's hand in its abridgment. Not only is Gloster's speech rendered incomplete through the omission (l. 91—93), Edm. "Nor... earth"; but the touching expression of paternal affection for his unjustly suspected son is ruthlessly struck out. Just as inconsequently "as of... Come, come" is omitted in the same scene (l. 137—143). When Edmund says, "I promise you, the effects he writes of, succeed unhappily," he must necessarily add, to gain his point, what this evil omen consists in, which is to instil anxiety into his brother's mind.

Short as it is, the interlude which forms the introduction to the next scene was not short enough for the actors (Act I. sc. iii.). In cutting out (l. 17—21), "Not to be... abused", Goneril's speech, "Whose mind and mine, I know, in that are one", is cut short by the omission of "Not to be overruled". Thus the unfortunate audience do not know in what respect Goneril's mind is one with Regan's. In Goneril's last speech also (l. 25-6), the words—"I would ... speak"—are omitted; and they contain the weighty resolution that she would take an opportunity of telling her father her mind unreservedly.

In Act I. sc. iv. the actors have indeed retained Lear's request to his fool that he would teach him the difference between a sweet and a bitter fool; but they omit the answer which the fool makes to this Such an oversight can hardly be attributed to Shakspere. Perhaps, however, the answer was omitted on account of the satire contained in it, especially in the second part, on the monopolies of the great lords and ladies of the court, which might have given much offence (l. 135—150), "That lord . . . snatching". But more of the fool's speech was cut out than was required by the censor, whose influence is so visible in the dramas of that time. Farther on in the same scene "I would . . . father" (l. 223—8) is omitted, and consequently there is no motive for Lear's passionate question "whether any one would tell him who he was". He pays no attention either to the fool's remarks, the first of which-" Lear's shadow "-remains, and the second of which—" Which they will make an obedient father"—has been swept away with the rest in the Folio.

Act II. sc. ii. The players have cut out the passage—"His fault

... punish'd with" (l. 136—140), in which Gloster admits the guilt of Kent, who is disguised as a servant, and gives assurance that Lear will himself punish his follower, although not in such a degrading manner as with the stocks. This, at once, justifies and anticipates Lear's wrath at the sight of his servant sitting in the stocks. It is hardly to be believed that the poet would himself have omitted this delicate and well-considered stroke of art from his drama.

At the beginning of the third Act we have again one of those explanatory passages which our poet loves to insert as a resting-place between two passionate scenes. The actors for this reason may have considered it superfluous. We have already examined the omission which the editor of the Quartos has here permitted himself. But the omissions of the Folio are more significant (l. 7-15), "tears... take all", and (l. 30-42), "But true . . . to you". The first passage is a description of Lear's mad defiance of the unchained elements, in characters which are so essential to the delineation of the whole situation, that it is impossible that Shakspere should have omitted it. Still more indispensable is the second passage, in which Kent informs the nobleman of the arming of France, and the impending landing of a French host, and sends him to Dover, to the friends of Lear who are there. The actors overlooked the fact that the omission of this passage renders that which follows incomprehensible. How could the nobleman find Cordelia, and deliver Kent's message to her, if he did not know that she was with the French army at Dover? Naturally such a palpable error cannot have emanated from Shakspere, who better understood the plan of his drama.

Act III. sc. vi. (l. 17—54). "The foul...'scape?" is omitted, and therewith that essential part of Lear's outbreak of madness, which alone justifies Kent's following speech, in which he reminds Lear of the composure of which he has so often boasted. If the audience saw nothing, or but little, of this outbreak, they would find it hard to comprehend the meaning of Kent's words. At the conclusion of the scene, Kent's speech, "Oppress'd... behind" (l. 96—100), and Edgar's, "When we... lurk" (l. 101—114), are omitted. In the former, Kent expressly asks the fool to help him to carry out his master. This speech being omitted, he still helps to bear him out,

but silently and unasked. Of the latter-Edgar's speech-the Cambridge editors say in a note to their edition, "Every editor from Theobald downwards, except Hanmer, has reprinted this speech from the Quartos. In deference to this consensus of authority we have retained it, though, as it seems to us, internal evidence is conclusive against the supposition that the lines were written by Shakspere." If we oppose this view, it is because we cannot comprehend how a spurious passage appeared in the Quarto; for we can hardly ascribe the authorship of the supposed interpolation to the editor, considering what we know of him and his method of work. Neither can we suppose that he would attempt to amplify and improve the MS, before him of King Lear as it was then performed. even the internal evidence from which the Cambridge editors might be inclined to condemn Edgar's monologue, fails to convince us of its spuriousness. We readily admit that the style of this passage is not that of the rest of the drama; but this difference may be explained in a twofold manner, partly by the form, partly by the matter. Shakspere is fond of introducing such rhyming lines,1 formed of a number of pointed, epigrammatic, antithetical sentences. They stand out from the surrounding blank verse, and point the moral which the audience should draw from the preceding situation, and the actions of the different characters. The second explanation is, that the poet lays great stress on the parallelism existing between the families of Lear and Gloster, and takes this opportunity of again impressing it upon his audience. A mere interpolator would hardly have known of this peculiar tendency of the poet, or have carried it out so thoroughly, and in so pregnant a manner, as in the few but completely Shaksperian words-"He childed as I father'd". For the same reason, it is more than improbable that Shakspere should have cut out this passage, thereby thwarting his own purposes.

Act IV. sc. ii. Little or nothing remains of Goneril's dispute with her husband, in which the clashing division between them is so

¹ In style and form Edgar's monologue reminds us of the rymed dialogue between the Doge and Brabantio in *Othello*, Act I. sc. iii.; of Coriolanus' monologue, Act II. sc. iii.; of Cressida's concluding speech in *Troilus and Cressida*, Act I. sc. ii.; lastly of the play within a play in *Hamlet*, Act II, sc. ii.

powerfully exhibited. This is especially important for its delineation of Albany's character, so significant of the rôle he was afterwards Also, there is no connection, either by sense or metre, in the poor remainder of this conversation. Instead of the long rebuke which Albany should administer to his wife, he contents himself with the simple reply-"You are not worth the dust which the rude wind blows in your face". But yet Goneril answers, as if he had spoken the whole rebuke which exists in the Quartos, especially referring to particular points of it-"Milk-liver'd man! that bear'st", etc., etc. Also we miss in Goneril's speech the so essential reference to the impending danger from France, and to Albany's sluggish inactivity. It is only when provoked by the bitter taunts of his wife, that Albany breaks out-"See thyself . . . woman", which in the Folio follows almost immediately on the first portion of Goneril's speech (l. 50-53). Only the actors, without the concurrence and knowledge of the poet, could so have treated his text.

Act IV. sc. iii. The actors cheerfully omitted this explanatory scene between Kent and the nobleman, as superfluous, because in it nothing is done, but something only talked of. And yet so essential is it to Shakspere's plot, that we have every reason to be thankful to the editor of the Quartos for having preserved it to us. It must be explained why the King of France, Cordelia's husband, who would only have been an encumbrance to the farther intentions of the poet, disappears, so to speak, from the play. Cordelia disappears still more entirely at the beginning of the drama. It probably appeared right to the poet, to prepare the audience for the re-appearance on the stage of this character who plays so important a part in the last portion of the tragedy. The nobleman, whom Kent, in an earlier part of the play (Act III. sc. i.), had sent to Cordelia, is expected to give an account of the Queen's reception of himself, and of the intelligence he brought of Lear and his elder daughters. This is the direct reference to that earlier scene, which the actors considered superfluous. and therefore omitted. Lastly, the poet has worked a third element into this third scene of the fourth Act; a new condition of Lear's disturbed mind. The madness which begins to wane, is succeeded not by clear consciousness, but a lucid interval, seen in his shame and

avoidance of his formerly misunderstood and ill-treated daughter, Cordelia, - a shame which throws him back into his madness, in which we soon after find him wandering around the neighbourhood of Dover, Act IV. sc. vi. The poet meant to express all this in that third scene of the fourth Act, which the actors thought superfluous, and accordingly cut out, without farther consideration. They also cut out, at the conclusion of the fourth Act, an explanatory dialogue between the same persons who, according to Shakspere's custom, prepare us for coming events. In this instance, these persons speak of the impending bloody fight, and of its doubtful issue.

Act V. sc. i. (l. 23-8). "Where I... nobly" is cut out by the actors, but they have naïvely retained Regan's reply—"Why is this reason'd ?"-which refers solely to Albany's words. The absence of this passage from the Folio is the more to be regretted, that the Quarto is in this place evidently corrupt and apparently defective. The Cambridge editors think that a line is missing before the ambiguous words, "Not bolds the king"; and that Albany really said, "I should be ready to resist any mere invader, but the presence in the invader's camp of the king and other Britons who have just cause of enmity to us, dashes my courage." In any case it is not Shakspere's nature to destroy a feature so essential to the comprehension of Albany's character, and to the development of the plot.

There are but two omissions in the last great scene of the play, in the Folie; one short and one long. The first is the conclusion of a speech of Edmund's, the whole of which is then commented on by Albany, and the force of which would hardly have been weakened by the poet, as is the case in the Folio text. Still less Shaksperian is the omission of the second passage (l. 205-225)-"This . . . slave"-which contains Edgar's touching account of the meeting between Kent and the dying Gloster. The play opens with a conversation between these friends; and certainly their chance meeting, after having been separated so long, at the end of the play, lay very near the heart of the author. The plan of his play prevents his allowing the audience to witness their reëncounter, but at least he paints it for them in the strongest colours. The actors cut out this passage; but as a proof that they had N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1875.

done so, they retained Edmund's previous words, which lead up to it—"You look as you had something more to say." Could Shakspere have either omitted or retained so clumsily?

It remains to take a glance at the rare instances in which the reading of the Quarto is preferable to that of the corresponding passage in the Folio text. The reverse is the rule in King Lear, as we have seen from the numerous examples given in the first part of this Paper; but these exceptions are very instructive if we wish clearly to understand the formation of either edition. The great difference between them is in fact obvious enough. The four Folio editions of Shakspere's plays were issued in the course of the seventeenth century. Nicholas Rowe, the first really literary editor of these works, prepared a readable text from the Folio alone without reference to the Quartos, not being even aware of their existence. All the acumen of the later commentators would hardly enable them to obtain a similar result from the Quartos alone, if by some great misfortune the Folio had been None the less, Rowe's followers in the editorship of Shakspere have proved, by adding those passages which are omitted in the Folio, how much can be gained in the amendment of the text, by collating the Quartos. As we have already remarked in the analogous case of Richard III., it would be most marvellous if a play, so many years after its first appearance, had been printed quite correctly in the Folio, from a theatre MS. which had been exposed to so many vicissitudes. Especially if we consider the notorious negligence with which the collected edition of Shakspere's plays was edited. It would have been equally wonderful if the editor of the Quartos, who possessed a copy made, comparatively speaking, soon after the first performance of the play, had not, among all the mistakes and corruptions of his edition, occasionally rendered a word or a passage of the original text more correctly than he who so many years afterwards edited the play from the Folio, perhaps from the copy of a copy.

In King Lear these exceptional instances are by far less numerous than in King Richard III.; far less numerous even if we reckon among them the doubtful cases, in which the Shaksperian critic may decide as best pleases him according to his bias in favour of either edition, or according to his own individual judgment. The following

are perhaps the most striking examples of undoubtedly right readings in the Quartos corrupted, through negligence, in the Folio.

Act I. sc. i. For equalities are so weighed — 'qualities' in the Folio. I shall, my liege-'lord' in Folio. Which the most precious square of sense possesses—'professes' in Folio. The observation we have made of it hath not been little—'not' is omitted in the Folio.

Act I. sc. iv. You are much more attask'd—'at task' in Folio.

Act II, sc. i. lanc'd mine arm—'latch'd' in Folio. potential spurs-'spirits' in Folio. I have heard strange news-'strangenesse' in Folio.

Bring oil to fire—'Being' in Folio. Act II. sc. ii. Dread exploit-' Dead' in Folio.

Act II. sc. iv. Of her confine—'his' in Folio.

Act III. sc. iv. through ford—'sword' in Folio.

Act III. sc. vi. Or bobtail tike—'tight' in Folio. Dogs leap-'leapt' in Folio.

Act III. sc. vii. All cruels else subscrib'd—' subscribe' in Folio. Act IV. sc. ii. Who thereat enraged—'threat' in Folio.

Act IV. sc. iv. In the good man's distress—' desires' in Folio,

Act IV. sc. vi. touch me for coining—'crying' in Folio. small vices do appear-'great' in folio.

Act V. sc. iii. Whose age has charms—'had' in Folio. them skip-'him' in Folio.

We pass over the doubtful readings which may be decided according to individual preference, as just because of this doubtfulness, they have no weight in deciding the question before us; and we sum up our investigations in the following words :-

Having traced the variations between the Quarto and the Folio texts to their true source, we are led to the conclusion—That there is no evidence for the supposition that Shakspere himself revised this drama.

III.

ON "EVENING MASS" IN ROMEO AND JULIET, IV. i. 38.

BY RICHARD SIMPSON, ESQ.

Read at the 14th Meeting of the Society, Friday, March 12, 1875.

SHAKSPERE'S accuracy in using terms of art is so great, that one apparent exception has been made a text for theory, but never hither-to explained. Juliet says to the friar—

"Are you at leisure, holy father, now, Or shall I come to you at evening mass?"

The phrase 'evening mass' is held to show a thorough ignorance of the usages of the Catholic Church.

But we must first note that in this play 'evening' means afternoon, and no more. Rom. II. iv. 114: "Is it good den?" asks the nurse; "Yes," says Mercutio, "the hand of the dial is on the prick of noon." Here, at least, evening begins at 12 o'clock. And next we must note with respect to the canonical times for mass, that the present rubric of the missal allows—1. Low mass at any time from dawn to noon. 2. Conventual and high-mass on Sundays and festivals after Tierce. On simple feasts and week-days, after Sext; in Advent, Lent, Ember days, and Vigils, after nones. 3. Requiem mass, on all souls' day, after nones, as also on the day of the funeral or the months' mind, or anniversary. 4. Votive masses after nones. The proper hour for the service called Tierce was originally 9 A. M.; for Sext, 12, noon; for nones, 3 P. M. Hence, so far as words go, the present rubric prescribes or allows evening masses.

And in ancient times the custom agreed with these words. Tempus misse faciendæ, says Walafrid Strabo, de rebus ecclesiasticis, c. 23, secundum rationem solemnitatum diversum est. Interdum enim ante meridiem, interdum circa nonam, aliquando ad vesperam, interdum noctu celebrant. And Martene, de antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus, 1. c. iii. Art. IV., gives notices of solemn masses said on fast-days at

3 o'clock, in Lent in the evening, and at night at Christmas, Easter Eve, St John Baptist, and days of Ordination. As for low masses "we think they were said at any hour which did not interfere with the high-mass." Then he gives several examples, and then concludes. 'This shows that low mass might be said at any hour, dawn, 8 A. M., noon, after nones (3 P. M.), evening, and after Compline (night). Even to this day (1699) in the Church of St Denis the Bishop says the solemn mass for the Kings of France in the evening, and in the Church of Rouen on Ascension day mass is often said in the evening.'

Pope Pius V. (1566—1572) forbad afternoon and evening masses under pain of suspension. But there is no reason why this new law should have influenced the isolated and fanatically conservative English priests, if there was a custom among them of saying afternoon masses. It was very slow in influencing the Spanish practice (Navarr. lib. de Orat. c. 21, n. 31, et Enchirid. Confess. c. 25, n. 85). It was so slow in penetrating Germany, that it had to be enforced by various councils, e. g. Prague in 1605, Constance in 1609, Salzburg in 1616. Cardinal Bona (1672) seems to say that in his time high mass was sung in Lent and on Vigils at 3 P.M., instead of sunset, the ancient time (Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 2, pp. 182-186; Paris, 1672). And the remarkable thing is this, that according to the testimony of the Liturgical writer Friedrich Brenner (Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung der Eucharistie. Bamberg, 1824, Vol. 3, p. 346), Verona was one of the places in which the forbidden custom lingered even to our own day. After quoting the precepts against it, he says, "Notwithstanding, evening masses are still said in several Italian Churches, as at Vercelli on Christmas Eve by the Lateran Canons, at Venice by the same, moreover in the Cathedral of Verona, and even in the Papal Chapel at Rome." When in spite of the Papal prohibition the custom of having evening mass lingered in Verona for nearly three centuries after Shakspere's time, it is impossible to doubt that in his time it was a matter of usual occurrence there. It was a custom that could not have sprung up after 1572, and must always since that year have tended towards extinction. The mention of it therefore, so far from being an error, is so curiously correct a local detail, as to suggest either that it was contained in the Italian source from which Shakspere drew his story, or else that he had travelled into Italy and had noted this custom at Verona.

Another very special technical use of a word occurs in the same play. Romeo, II. iii. 7, 8:

"I must up-fill this osier cage of ours
With baleful weeds, and precious-juiced flowers."

"Ours" is not for the rhyme. It is the rule of the Franciscans, who have all property in common, to call whatever article of this property they use "ours," not "mine," e. g. "I must put on our shoes," "I must go to our cell."

Venus & Adonis. Dr Brinsley Nicholson points out two lines in this poem, 508, 510, which seem to show that it was written in the year of its registration and publication, 1593. Venus says of Adonis's lips,

Oh neuer let their crimson liueries weare!
And as they last, their verdour still endure
To drive infection from the dangerous yeare,
That the star-gazers, having writ on death,
May say, the plague is banisht by thy breath.
Quarto, 1593, sign. D iij, back.

Stowe (Annales, p. 1274) tells us that in 1593 the pest or plague was "very hot" in the "citie" of London, and that between Dec. 29, 1592, and Dec. 20, 1593, 10,675 persons died of the plague. The theatres in the City and within 5 miles of it were clos'd, in pursuance of a letter, dated 3 Feb., 1593, from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor. Shakspere's Venus & Adonis was registerd in the Stationers' books on April 18. It is so full of country life and recollections that it may have been written at Stratford, whither Shakspere may have withdrawn on the closing of the theatres. If he so wrote the poem, his choice of such an amorous subject as the Venus during the plague-time reminds one of Boccaccio's seven ladies and three men telling the tales of his Decamerone in a country-house during the plague at Florence in 1348.

But Mr R. Simpson, after compiling a list of analogous allusions in the poem (too long to be printed here), from which he infers that the imagery is derived from the subject of the poem, and has little or nothing to do with the circumstances of the time and place of its composition, urges that a dangerous year is not necessarily an actual plague year like 1593; and that a year from which the plague is banisht is certainly not a year in which the plague rages. The reference is to a year for which the star-gazers prophesied calamity, so making it dangerous, but in which no evil (to speak of) happened. And the poet tells the disappointed Zadkiels that they may excuse thier failure, by saying "the plague" they foretold "is banisht by Adonis' breath": cp. Twelfth Night, I. i. 20:—

"O when mine eye did see Olivia first Methought she purged the air of pestilence."

Such a year of non-fulfilld prophecies was 1588—about which Dr John Harvey of King's Lynn, Norfolk, wrote his *Discoursive Probleme concerning Prophesies* ² (1588), and about which, and

¹ Cp. Dr John Harvey's like use of dangerous in his Discoursive Probleme 1588, p. 68: "other whiles to fall a prophesying of the wofull dearths, famines, plagues, wars, and most wretched, lamentable and horrible Tragedies of the

dangerous daies imminent . . ."

The Second Part, or Section: specially examining and discussing the speciall Prophesie of this famous yeere 1588"..."I am now, at the earnest and vrgent request of certaine worshipfull Gentlemen, and divers other my familiar friends, more especially and severally to labour, and examine one more speciall notorious prophesie, touching this long expected voonderfull yeere 1588... I cannot denie but this whole Treatise was originally occasioned by that onely famous prophesie (p. 87)...p. 89,

"The famous Prophesie of 88. vulgarly fathered vpon Ioannes Regiomontanus; but woorthily suspected by some learneder men, neuer to have proceeded from that excellent Mathematician, or any like notable Scholler.

"Post mille expletos à partu virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos:
Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus
Ingruet, is secum tristia fata feret.
Si non hoc Anno totus malus occidet orbis:
Sis non in nihilum terra, fretumque ruet:
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque retrorsun
Imperia, & luctus vndique grandis erit

"My English Paraphrase.

After a thousand yeeres from Christ's natiuitie accounted;
And fine hundred more to the computation added,
The eight yeere, succeeding fowerscore, wil approch very strangely,
Afflicting mankind with wofull destinie afrighted:
If then wretched world be not vtterly wasted in horror;
If heauens, lands, and seas consume not finally to naught:
At least most kingdoms ouerhurlde with tragicall outrage,
Shall powre out dreadfull complaints, and pitifull outcries. . . ."

In his second Dedication (14 Jan, 1588) to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, John Harvey says, "But of all the residue, what comparable to the terrible pretended prophesie, euen now notoriously in *Esse*, concerning the imagined mightie and woonderfull casualties and hurliburlies of the

1593, his brother Gabriel Harvey—in his "New Letter of Notable Contents, With a straunge Sonet, intituled Gorgon, Or the wonderfull yeare," 1593, written to ridicule Nash and Southwell—indited the following Sonnet, "Gorgon or the Wonderful Year" (Brydges's Archaica, vol. ii. § 2, part 9, p. 27):

St Fame dispos'd to coney-catch the world, Uprear'd a wonderment of Eighty-eight;

The Earth adreading to be overwhirl'd, 'What now avails,' quoth she, 'my balance-weight?'

The Circle smil'd to see the Centre fear:

The wonder was, no wonder fell that year.
Wonders enhance their power in numbers odd:

The fatal year of years is Ninety-three:

Parma hath kist, De-maine entreats the rod:

War wond'reth, Peace and Spain in France to see.

Brave Eckenberg, the doughty Bassa shames; The Christian Neptune, Turkish Vulcan tames;

Navarre woos Rome, Charlemagne gives Guise the phy,

Weep Paul's, thy Tamerlane [Marlowe] vouchsafes to die.

L'Envou.

The hugest miracles remain behind,

The second Shakerley Rash-Swash [Nash] to bind.

No doubt in many previous years the annual Zadkiels of the day prophesied disasters dire as sure to befal that very year. Of 'Prognostications' there are frequent entries in the early Stationers' Registers, as any one who has turnd over the books can testify.

present yeare 1588?" In his first "Epistle Dedicatorie" he says of another book, that he has "presumed . . . to offer vnto your woorthy L. by way of humble & officious Dedication, my Annuall Kalender, or briefe Almanacke for the famous prædestined yeere following; togither with the Astronomicall Diarie, the compendious Discourse vpon the Eclipses, and the short Astrologicall Prognostication thereunto appending."

In a later passage, John Harvey says as to the main cause of the predic-

tion:

"Moreouer, the like concourse of two Eclipses [Sun and Moon] in one and the same month, shal hereafter more euidently in shew, and more effectually in déed, appéere, Anno 1590, the 7. and 21. daies of Iuly; and Anno 1598, the 11. and 25. daies of February; and Anno 1601, the 29. day of Nouember, and 14. of December: but especially, and most notably Anno 1605, the second day of October, when the Sunne shall be obscured aboue 11. digits, and darknes appéere euen at midday, the Mone at the very next full immediately preceding hauing likewise béene Eclipsed..."

1588. I[ohn] H[arvey. At Kingslinn in Norfolke, this 12 of December.

Anno 1587. A Discoursive Probleme concerning Prophesies, p. 119.

¹ In one volume (Harl. MS. 5937) of Bagford's great collection of title-pages and scraps in the British Museum (see my *Boorde*, p. 25, and *Captain Cox*, p. exxxii-vii) are title-pages of Γrognostications for 1587 by Wm Farmer (No. 176, leaf 31); [the 1588 book noted on leaf 14 is not an Almanack or

See too Arber's Transcript. In 1591 Thomas Nash wrote his "Wonderfull, strange and miraculous, Astrological Prognostication for this yeer of our Lord God .1591. Discouering such wonders to happen this yeere, as neuer chaunced since Noes floud. Wherein if there be found one lye, the Author will loose his credit for euer. By Adam Foule-weather, Student in Asse-tronomy. Imprinted at London by Thomas Scarlet." It is an amusing squib, meant to ridicula the Harveys and the whole prognosticating tribe; and is followed by another with seemingly the same intent. I hope shortly to print both for the Society.—F. J. F.

P.S. A reference in Thomas Nash's Strange Newes, sign. K 2, to an unfulfilld prophecy of harms to happen in 1583, recorded in Hooker's continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle, iii. 1356, discloses this refer-

ence to the prophecy for 1588:-

The publication, oft reading and talking of this conjunction, with the remembrance of the instant wherein it should be [April 28, 1583], made manie (when the daie foretold was come) to looke for some strange apparition or vision in the aire; and withall, put them in mind of an old and common prophesie, touching the yeare 1588, which is now [in 1586] so rife in euerie mans mouth. That yeare was manie hundred yeares ago foretold and yeare of woou-

much spoken of amongst astrologers, who have as it were, ders gathered to be 1588. Vnanimi consensu, prognosticated that either a maruel-

lous fearfull & horrible alteration of empires, kingdoms, seignories, and estates, togither likewise with other most woonderfull and verie extraordinarie accidents [p. 1357], as extreame hunger and pestilence, desperat treasons and commotions shall then fall out, to the miserable affliction and oppression of huge multitudes: or else, that an vtter

Prognostication; 1600 by John Dade, practitioner in Phisicke, No. 126; 1601 two by Edward Ponde, practisioner in the Mathimaticks, Nos. 127, 129; 1605 by Dr Robert Watson, No. 132 (and an Almanack, No. 134); 1606 by Knoston, No. 133; besides many earlier (as 1530 Gasper Laet; 1566 Nostradamus; 1573 Securis; 1579 Mounslowe, leaf 25) and later ones. For 1584 there is a scrap, No. 81, leaf 20: " Of the Eclipse of the Moone. [Th] is present yeere of our Lord God. 1584. [b]eing Leape yeere. On Saterday being the vii. day of Nouember there wyll appeare and be seene a great and totall Eclipse, or darkenyng of the Moone vnto xvi. poyntes, or there aboute, and she is Eclipsed in the ninth house of the Heauens, and in the .xxv. degree .xxxiii. min, of Taurus, within lesse then ii. degrees of the section called the Dragons tayle, the Sunne and head of the Dragon in the third house, Opposite in Scorp. She will beginne to be darkened with vs here at London 40. min. before midnight, and so passe on, till she be wholly darkened, & continue in her totall Eclipsation one houre and .xx, minutes. &c. Imprinted at London, by Richarde Watkins and Iames Robertes.

There is a little volume of Almanacks, and Prognostications, for 1589, in the Lambeth Library (26. 8. 13), by Gabriell Frende (whom Nash says, in his Saffron Walden, was Gabriel Harvey), Thomas Buckmaister, Walter Gray, and John Dade, with an anonymous Prognostication, but nothing specially

awful is prophesied in them.

and finall ouerthrowe and destruction of the whole world shall insue: which prophesie is conteined in these verses following:—

Post mille expletos &c. [as on p. 151].

So that by this prophesie, either a finall dissolution, or a woonderfull horrible alteration of the world is then to be expected. All these considerations laid togither, as well the prediction of the The great conjunction in expectation, as also the dreadfull events yeere of 1588 is more talked which were to insue therevpon: and vpon the necke of these, the greate yeare of 1588 in euerie mans mouth, the more frequent and common by occasion of a booke extant vnder the title of "the end of the world, and the second comming of Christ," made diverse diverslie affected [in 1583]; insomuch that some conversing and conferring, looked for no lesse than was prophesied; and talking verie religiouslie, seemed as though they would become sanctified people: howbeit, the day of the con-When people saw nothing in iunction being past, with a certeine counterchecke against the aire (as the said astrologicall discourse in some points defective, they looked and no such euents palpablie perceived as were prognosticated, people fell to their former securitie, and condemned the discourser of extreame madnesse and follie: whereof no more but this, Scientia nullum habet sibi inimicam præter ignorantem.

TWELFTH NIGHT, II. v. 66-7 (Globe),

"Malvolio. Seven of my people, with an obedient start, make out for him: I frown the while; and perchance wind up my watch, or play with my—some rich jewel. Toby approaches; courtesies there to me."

Dyce, 2nd ed. 1866, iii. 403. Note on p. 356 (50) "with some rich jewel." The Folio has "with my some rich Iewell,"—the word "my" being an accidental repetition, occasioned by the preceding "my watch."

The original wording is correct, and only requires that the break in the sentence should be shown by punctuating, "my,—some rich jewel." Mr J. P. Collier was the first to see this, but his explanation being inadequate, the reading has not been generally adopted. There is here a true touch of nature, and a most humorous one. While Sir Toby is being fetched to the presence, the Lord Malvolio would frowningly wind up his watch or play with—and here from force of habit he fingers, and is about to add "play with my chain," but suddenly remembering that he would be no longer a steward, or other golden-chained attendant, he stops short, and then confusedly alters his phrase to—"some rich jewel."

B. NICHOLSON.

IV. ON SOME PLAYS ATTRIBUTED TO SHAKSPERE.

BY R. SIMPSON, ESQ.

THERE are several plays which have been attributed to Shakspere, besides the 37 included in the editions of his works. Six of these appeared in the 4th Folio of 1685 (or seven, including *Pericles*).

- 1. The London Prodigal.
- 2. The history of Thomas Lord Cromwell.
- 3. Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.
- 4. The Puritan Widow.
- 5. A Yorkshire tragedy.
- 6. The tragedy of Locrine.
- 7. Arden of Faversham, 1592. Reprinted in 1770 by Jacob with a preface attributing it to Shakspere, without any evidence.
- 8. Arraignment of Paris, 1584, included in Capell's collection among the doubtful plays. It is, however, Peele's, teste Nash in his epistle prefixed to Greene's Arcadia. I suppose that Capell thought that no one but Shakspere could have written the rhythmical and harmonious blank verse of the "Oration of Paris to the Gods," which vindicates the title of Peele to a priority over Marlowe in this kind.
- 9. Edward III., 1596. This was first assigned to Shakspere by Capell. The second Act is probably by him.
 - 10. Faire Em.
 - 11. Mucedorus.
- 12. The Birth of Merlin; or the childe hath found his father written by William Shakespear and William Rowley. Lond. T. Johnson, for Frances Kirkman and Henry Marsh, 1662.
- 13. The Merry devil of Edmonton—acted by the King's players, 1608. Entered in Stationers' books in 1608 by Thos. Hunt and

¹ On the authority of Kirkman and Winstanley.

Thos. Archer as written by T. B. But H. Moseley entered it Sept. 9, 1653, as written by Shakspere.

- 14. The two Noble Kinsmen, presented at the Blackfriars by the King's servants with great applause; "written by the memorable worthies of their times," Fletcher and Shakspere, 1634.
 - 15. George-a-Greene, 1599.

These 15 make up the list of doubtfut plays prefixed by Herr Max Molkte to the Tauchnitz selection. To them may be added:

- 16. The Taming of a Shrew, 1594. In Smetwick's reprint of 1631 said to be "written by William Shakespeare."
- 17. The first part of the contention between the two famous houses of York and Lancaster.
- 18. The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York, &c. (These two were printed together as "The whole Contention," &c., followed by *Pericles*, in 1619, for T. P., and said to be "written by William Shakespeare, Gent.")
- 19, 20. The first and second parts of "The troublesome rayne of King John of England"—anonymous in 1591, in Valentine Simm's edition of 1611, "written by W. Sh.," and said by Pope to be by Shakspere and Rowley.
 - 21. The true tragedy of Richard III., 1594.
 - 22. The "Corambis Hamlet" of 1603, and the Hamlet of 1589.
 - 23. The "Merry Wives" of 1602.
- 24. Titus and Vespatia, the form of Titus Andronicus which belonged to Lord Strange's players in 1591, preserved in a German translation, retranslated into English in Cohn's "Shakespeare in Germany."
- 25. "The Prodigal son," attributed to "Posthaste" (Shakspere), in the Histriomastix, preserved in a German translation.
 - 26. Sir Thomas More.
 - 27. The siege of Antwerp.
 - 28. Albumazar. (See Historical Commission Report, 1, p. x.)
 - 29. The second maiden's tragedy.
 - 30. The double falsehood.

I need not enter the name of Ireland's forged play.

These plays should be classified, and the grounds upon which

each of them has been attributed to Shakspere should be stated and sifted. If the examination did not lead to the recognition of any real work of the poet's youth or manhood, it would at least be a great help towards the history of opinion and belief concerning his life and writings.

This undertaking is much too great to be worked out in a single Paper. I shall therefore select for my present observations the two plays lately published by Delius, *Mucedorus* and *Fair Em*.

1. Mucedorus was one of three plays bound up together in one volume for the library of Charles II., and labelled Shakspere's works, The volume contained also Fair Em, and another. passed into the Garrick Collection, and thence to the British Museum, where it has been broken up to allow the plays to be separately bound. Tieck brought himself to believe it to be a youthful work of Shakspere. I think that it was only attributed to him on the score of certain additions made to it between 1606 and 1610, on the occasion of a representation at Court. In the editions of 1598 and 1606 we have the old play in its primitive nakedness. It is anonymous; the poet 'Musidore' addressed by Chettle in Englands Mourning Garment is either Thomas Lodge, or Thomas Greene. The author of so favourite a play may have drawn his pastoral name from it. (See the Society's Shakspere Allusion-books, Pt. I., p. xiv.) The versification should be compared with that of Lodge's wounds of civil war. In the editions of 1610, 1613, 1615, and 1621, we have the play "amplified with new additions, as it was acted before the King's Majesty at Whitehall, on Shrove Sunday at night, by his Highness' servants usually playing at the Globe."

I must first call attention to a curious mistake of two modern editors of the play, Delius and Hazlitt. The former says that the new additions of 1610 sonsist of the prologue and the two dialogues between Comedy and Envy at the beginning and end of the piece. All the rest, he says, belongs to the old play. Hazlitt is not quite so wrong. He rightly gives the first conversation between Comedy and Envy as part of the old play, and rightly divides their last dialogue between the old play and the new additions. He also rightly notices the substitution of new lines for the old ones in that part of

the last scene of the play before the dialogue in question where the King of Valentia enters. But he gives the two scenes where Anselmo and the King of Valentia appear (Hazlitt, pp. 205, 236; Delius, pp. 6 and 34) as belonging to the old play, though in a note to the Dramatis personæ he tells us rightly that these two characters first appear in the edition of 1610. Both editors also are mistaken in supposing the little comic prose scene when "Mouse" soliloquizes (Hazlitt, p. 208; Delius, p. 8) to belong to the old play. It is curious to find such blunders in so justly renowned an editor as Delius. The new additions, especially the scenes where Anselmo and the King of Valentia appear, are clearly marked off from the old matter by the most cursory application of metrical tests. I venture, therefore, to contradict Mr Hazlitt, who says it is not improbable that the additions were written by the author of the old play. These additions, at least those in the last dialogue, were made on a very special occasion.

Some "scrambling raven with his needy beard" had been instigated by Envy to turn poet, and to write a Comedy for the King's players which had given great offence at Court. The King's company had thereupon been silenced for some time, and on their re-admission to play in the presence had chosen this colourless comedy for their handsel, to which by way of epilogue they tacked on their explanation of and apology for their conduct. I will quote the passage, as it illustrates the subject of the political allusions in dramas of Shakspere's days. In the last dialogue Envy is made to threaten to overthrow Comedy, and this is how she proposes to do it.

"From my foul study will I hoist a wretch A lean and hungry meagre Cannibal, Whose jaws swell to his eyes with chewing malice, And him I'll make a poet.

Com. What's that to the purpose?

En. This scrambling raven with his needy beard,
Will I whet on to write a comedy,
Wherein shall be composed dark sentences
Pleasing to factious brains:
And every other where place me a jest
Whose high abuse shall more torment than blows.

Then I myself, quicker than lightning,
Will fly me to the puissant Magistrate,
And waiting with a trencher at his back
In midst of jollity rehearse those galls—
With some additions—(so lately) vented in your theatre.
He on this cannot but make complaint
To [y]our great danger, or at least restraint."

Comedy affects to laugh at this, as a trap for boys, not men, and declares that her faction eschews these vices. But it is clear that they had not done so by subsequent lines, where Comedy says to the King,

"Vouchsafe to pardon our unwilling error So late presented to your gracious view."

How untrue this protestation of the King's players was may be seen by the instances which I have given in p. 375 of my Paper on the political use of the stage, where we hear that they spared neither King, State, nor religion.

I suppose that these apologetic additions were attributed to Shakspere, because he was not only the poet, but the titular chief of the King's company. In the patent of 1603 his name comes second after that of Lawrence Fletcher; Fletcher died a few years afterwards, and left Shakspere head of the company. On such an important occasion it might well be taken for granted that he would pen the apology.

But the apology is not his. He never wrote the stiff verses which I have quoted. Even if he had tried to fret his fine cloth into the semblance of the rough frieze of the old play, some spark of his genius would still shine through the holes. The metre of the other added scenes might possibly have oozed forth from a sleeping Shakspere.

Thus Mucedorus says to his friend Anselmo:

"—I must enstrange thy friendship—Misconstrue not, 'tis from the Realm, not thee; Though lands part bodies, hearts keep company. Thou know'st that I imparted often have Private relations with my royal Sire Had, as concerning beauteous Amadine Rich Arragon's bright Jewel; whose face (some say, That blooming lilies never shone so gay,)

Excelling, not excell'd——yet, 'lest report
Does mangle verity, boasting of what is not,
Winged with desire, thither I'll straight repair
And be my fortunes as my thoughts are, fair."
Delius, p. 6.

And the King of Valentia (ib. p. 34):

"Mirth to a soul disturbed are embers turn'd Which sudden gleam with molestation, But sooner lose their sight for't:
"Tis gold bestow'd upon a rioter Which not relieves but murders him.
"Tis a drug given to the healthful Which infects, not cures."

If Shakspere were asked on the spur of the moment to supply stuff that might run with the halting lines of the old Mucedorus, is it impossible that he should write such as this? At any rate the tradition which connects Mucedorus with Shakspere, seems to indicate that he was supposed to be the Company's poet, whose duty it was to supply such occasional insertions or alterations as were suddenly required for the representation of a play at Court. Henslowe's diary shows us that this was a very frequent demand upon the theatrical poet. There is not a single line in Mucedorus which is worthy of Shakspere in 1606—1610. The critic who should attribute any of it to him on internal evidence would be crazy. And it cannot be said that the external evidence in this case has any great force. if I may venture a remark in the face of critics, I should say that the internal evidence on which they rely holds about the same proportion to external evidence that evidence of character bears to evidence of fact in a criminal trial. In spite of all the array of witnesses to character, I fear an impartial jury must find Shakspere guilty of Titus Andronicus.

2. Fair Em was another of the plays bound up among "Shakspere's works" in the library of Charles II., and Tieck recognized it as well as Mucedorus among the youthful sins of Shakspere. Edward Phillipps in his Theatrum Poetarum ascribed it to Robert Greene. But it is not Greene's; on the contrary, there is in one of Greene's works a very bitter reference to it, as if he was either very hostile to the author, or very angry at some covert allusion to himself contained

in it. I refer to the address to the Gentlemen and students, prefixed to Greene's Farewell to Folly;—a book which was entered in the Stationers' Registers in 1587, but not published with the address in question till 1589 at least, as is proved by the references to Marlowe's Tamburlaine, and to the Martinists, who are first heard of in that year. The earliest known edition is dated in 1591. The passage referring to Fair Em is as follows:

"Others will flout and over-read every line with a frump, and say "'tis scurvy,' when they themselves are such scabbed lads that they are like to die of the fazion; 1 but if they come to write, or publish anything in print, it is either distilled out of ballets, or borrowed of Theological Poets, which, for their calling and gravity being loth to have any profane pamphlets pass their hand, get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses. Thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokery. And he that cannot write true English without the help of clerks of parish churches, will needs make himself the father of interludes. O'tis a jolly matter, when a man hath a familiar style, and can endite a whole year, and never be beholding to art. But to bring Scripture to prove anything he says, and kill it dead with a text in a trifling subject of love, I tell you is no small piece of cunning. As for example, two lovers on the stage arguing one another of unkindness, his mistress runs over him with this canonical sentence, A man's conscience is a thousand witnesses; and her knight again excuseth himself with that saying of the Apostle, Love covereth the multitude of sins. I think this was simple abusing of Scripture. In charity be it spoken, I am persuaded the sexton of St Giles without Cripplegate would have been ashamed of such blasphemous rhetoric. But not to dwell in the imperfection of these dunces, or trouble you with a long commentary of such witless coxcombs, Gentlemen, I humbly entreat pardon for myself," &c.

The passages in italics are quotations from Fair Em, pp. 47 and 49 (Delius). This shows that the play existed in 1591. Now this angry reference of Greene to the play, coupled with its subsequent

¹ Fushions, Ital. farcina, glanders. See Taming of the Shrew, III. ii. Fasch in German is the Thrush, the ulcerated throat, which is also a symptom of the disease to which Greene evidently alludes.

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traditional ascription to Shakspere, or to Greene himself, seems to throw much light on the quarrel of Greene and Shakspere. Every one recognizes the fact of that quarrel, as shown by Greene's Groatsworth of Wit, and Chettle's Kindharts Dream in 1592. But no one seems to have thought it necessary to inquire whether the dabate had not begun long previously, and whether it has not left traces in some of Greene's previous works. It is true that a passage from an epistle which Nash prefixed to Greene's Menaphon in 1589 has often, on account of its mention of Hamlet, been supposed to contain an allusion to Shakspere. But Dr Ingleby discards it, and I believe that at present its reference is generally discredited. And yet the tradition that Fair Em, the play which Greene was so offended at, was Shakspere's, encourages the hope of being able to trace backward the rivalry of the two men. And this hope should be much strengthened by the curious fact that Fair Em is not a solitary phenomenon. There is another play, evidently referring to Greene, and making a mock at his "Never too late,"—a play of the same date as Fair Em, apparently by the same hand, and containing a line identical with one in Fair Em-

"Pardon dear Father my follies that are past."

This other play, the London Prodigal, was printed in 1605 with Shakspere's name on the title-page. But there is also another play, now only existing in a miserable German translation of the end of the 16th century, which treats the Scriptural story of the Prodigal Son very much as Greene treats it in his more or less autobiographical novel, the Mourning Garment. In the old play of Histriomastix (which as we have it is a hash of two distinct forms of the play, one perhaps as written by Peele about 1590, the other as rewritten by Marston in one of his transient alliances with Ben Jonson about 1600), the Prodigal Son is attributed to the poet Posthaste, who, at least in Marston's recension of the play, is pretty clearly identified with Shakspere. Thus we have three plays, the plots of which more or less closely refer to Greene and to his autobiographical novels, all in very

¹ Greene is 'Flowerdale' in the play, and it is said of him, "If e'er his heart doth turn, 'tis ne'er too late,"

early times attributed to Shakspere. Nor does this list exhaust these coincidences. There is another play of which George Peele is the hero, under the synonym of George Pyeboard, and where his tricks and vices are exhibited in the same unsparing fashion as Greene's are in the London Prodigal. This play also, The Puritan, or the Widow of Watling Street, was printed in Shakspere's life-time with his initials on the title, and reproduced as his in the 4th Folio. Nor does my list end here. For in the Yorkshire Tragedy, also printed with Shakspere's name on the title during his life, some penitent verses of Thomas Nash, from his Pierce Penniless, are put into the mouth of Supposing that this was meant to hint at some the murderer. similarity between Nash and the criminal, we should be obliged to reckon this play as an attack on Nash's memory—he was dead before it was written-and then we have this curious fact, that five plays, exhibiting Greene, or Peele, or Nash in a ludicrous or offensive way, were all traditionally ascribed to Shakspere. Are we to suppose that this tradition of Shakspere's quarrel with these men arose from Greene's letter to his brother playmakers in his Groatsworth of Wit? Why, then, is none of the various extant attacks on Marlowe's character attributed to Shakspere? But in truth the age was too uncritical to have built so much on the interpretation of an enigmatical letter. The rivalry of the poets was a fact living in the memory of men at the time in question, and it seemed the most natural thing in the world, that whenever any play reflecting on his enemies appeared, it should at once be attributed to Shakspere. And this tradition included plays like Fair Em and the London Prodigal, which were anterior to Greene's letter. The quarrel therefore did not originate in the latter months of Greene's life, nor was his peevish and splenetic reference to the Shakescene a mere sudden and passing expression of wrath.

This being so, would it not be worth while to collect all the references to players occurring in the writings of Greene, Nash, and Peele, and instead of taking Greene's one undoubted reference to Shakspere as a solitary fact, having no antecedents and no consequents, to see whether we cannot use it as a key to interpret the other and similar attacks on players and playwrights which are not unfrequent

in these writers? I will now offer a slight contribution towards a collection of such passages.

- 1. The first indication of a soreness against the stage which I find in Greene is in his epistle to the Gentlemen readers prefixed to his Penelope's Web in 1587. "The rules of phisionomy [are not] infallible principles: for they which smiled at the Theatre in Rome might as soon scoff at the rudeness of the sciene as give a Plaudite at the perfection of the action; and they which pass over my toys with silence may perhaps shroud mislike in such patience." I must note that Rome is frequently in Greene, as it was always in the cony-catchers' slang of his day, the cant word for London. I gather from this sentence, then, that at the Theatre at Shoreditch a play by a 'rude' rival of Greene (i. e. one not educated at a University) had been received with 'smiles,' which the jealous poet chose to interpret as applause of the acting, and ironical amusement at the play.
- 2. In this year, 1587, Greene, who was a very prolific author of pamphlets, adopted a fresh motto or posy. His old one was "omne tulit punctum." Now he became more didactic, and wrote "ea habentur optima quæ et jucunda honesta et utilia." This, coupled with a theatrical failure of his, afforded food for the dramatists, who, like French falconers, flew at anything they saw, and let no bug put forth his horns but they straight canvassed him on the stage. This we learn by Greene's introduction to his Perimedes the Blacksmith, 1588: "I keep my old course still to palter up something in prose, using mine old posy still, omne tulit punctum: although lately two gentlemen poets made two madmen of Rome beat it out of their paper bucklers, and had it in derision, for that I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragical buskins, every word filling the mouth like the fa-burden of Bow-bell, daring God out of heaven with that atheist Tamburlain, or blaspheming with the mad priest of the sun.1 But let me rather openly pocket up the ass at Diogenes' hand than wantonly set out such impious instances of intolerable poetry. Such mad and scoffing poets that have poetical spirits as bred of Merlin's

¹ I know of no drama of the period where the Priest of the Sun is a character. He is found in a Ford's Suns darling, perhaps a riffacciamento of an earlier play.

race, if there be any in England that set the end of scholarism in an English blank-verse, I I think either it is the humour of a novice that tickles them with self-love, or too much frequenting the hot-house (to use the German proverb) hath sweat out all the greatest part of their wits,"

I venture to interpret this parable thus. Greene, jealous (as usual) of the success of Marlowe's *Tamburlain* in 1587 had dared to measure himself against the mighty poet in his *Comical history of Alphonsus King of Arragon*, where he confesses that he leaves Venus' service for that of Calliope—

"And this my hand, which used for to pen The praise of Love, and Cupids peerless power Will now begin to treat of bloody Mars Of doughty deeds and valiant victories."

and proceeds to indite a play in manifest imitation and emulation of Tamburlain. Alphonsus is the counterpart of the Syrian shepherd—a beggar's son, who by prowess, impudence and adroitness wins crowns and kingdoms. The play failed, Greene says, because of the absence of blasphemy and exaggeration in his lines. "two gentlemen poets," one of them probably Marlowe, wrote parts for two actors (madmen of Rome), in which Greene's heroic lines (his paper-buckler-cf. "copper-lace," "copper-crown," as descriptive of the sham properties of the stage) were shown not to "bear all point," but to be tame, unfit to jet on the stage or to fill the mouth of the actor. Greene retorts that he at least does not place the end of scholarism in a blank-verse, that he had rather be called ass than write such intolerable poetry, and ends with calling his adversary a 'novice,' and upbraiding him with his dissoluteness. This seems to be addressed to Marlowe; but there was another gentleman-poet joined with him, to whom the same reproaches are made. felt the force of their satire, and so for the moment abandoned versemaking, and returned to his old trade of "paltering up something in prose."

¹ I do not agree with Mr Collier that this proves *Tamburlain* to have been the earliest introduction of blank verse on the stage. It only shows that Marlowe and his mates were now making the construction of blank-verse a serious and scholarlike study.

- 3. In Pandosto, 1588, Greene again seems to refer to these stage critics as "envenomed vipers" who "seek with their slanderous reproaches to carp at all, being often-times most unlearned of all," We shall find echoes of this expression later on.
- 4. Perimedes was written in 1588 to show that if Greene could not compete with other dramatists in his blank verse, he was still supreme in the prose romance. This intention is openly avowed in his Menaphon, a prose pastoral, published in 1589. It was announced by an unusual flourish of trumpets, and a whole array of complimentary verses ducking their obeisances to the author. Henry Upchear tells us how Greene's pastoral pipe was here "strained a note above his use," which "foretells he'll ne'er more chant of Choas sport;" apparently meaning that henceforth he will abandon the drama, and stick to his prose pastorals. Thomas Brabine is more to the point—

"Come forth ye wits that vaunt the pomp of speech
And strive to thunder from a stageman's throat.

View Menaphon, a note beyond your reach,
Whose sight will make your drumming descant doat.

Players, avaunt; you know not to delight;
Welcome sweet shepherd, worth a scholar's sight."

And Greene in the epistle to the readers—"if you find dark enigmas or strange conceits, as if Sphinx on the one side and Roscius on the other were playing the wags," I "desire you to take a little pains to pry into my imagination." It is not possible to discover on the face of the story which character is meant for Roscius, the actor. But here Nash's epistle prefixed to the romance helps us. There he abuses the "vain-glorious tragedians" who study not grace of action but mouthing of words, and delight "to embowel the clouds in a speech of comparison: thinking themselves more than initiated in poets' immortality if they can get Boreas by the beard, and the heavenly Bull by the dewlap." This serves to identify the vain-glorious Tragedian Roscius with Doron, a character in the romance, who thus describes the heroine Samela:—"We had an ewe amongst our

¹ drumming. Plays were announced and ended with a blare of drums and trumpets. Hence the stage-drum became a favourite simile for the theatrical blank-verse. E. g. Nash, introduction to Menaphan, "drumming decasyllabon."

rams whose fleece was as white as the hairs that grow on father Boreas' chin, or the dangling dewlap of the silver bull; her front curled like the Erimanthian boar, and spangled like to the worsted stockings of Saturn. Her face like Mars treading upon the milk white clouds; . . . her eyes like the fiery torches tilting against the moon." Remark that Greene here makes his vain-glorious tragedian Doron, his actor-poet, quote a line from the *Taming of a Shrew*, where Ferando addresses the Shrew—

"Sweet Kate, thou lovlier than Diana's purple robe Whiter than are the snowy Appenines Or iey hair that grows on Boreas' chin," &c.

and proceeds to swear by Ibis' golden beak that she is more fair than silver Xanthus, &c.

But we may turn from the ænigmas of the Romance to Nash's preface, which goes some way, as we have seen, to explain them, begins by recommending to the students of both Universities the "scholar-like shepherd" who wrote Menaphon, and who is one of themselves, and appeals to them to protect university scholarship from being outfaced by the stage, and by the mechanical imitators of vainglorious tragedians like Doron in the romance, whose affectation Nash traces to their "idiot art-masters" (Masters of Arts of no University) "that intrude themselves as alchemists of eloquence, who (mounted on the stage of arrogance) think to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank verse. Indeed," he proceeds, "it may be, the ingrafted flow of some kill-cow 2 conceit that overcloyeth their imagination with a more than drunken resolution, being not extemporal in the invention of any other means to vent their manhood, commits the digestion of their choleric encumbrances to the spacious volubility of a drumming decasyllabon. Amongst this kind of men that repose eternity in the mouth of a player,3 I can but engross some deep-read schoolmen or grammarians,4 who having no more learning in their skull than will serve to take

¹ Three years afterwards Greene wrote of Shakspere, "he supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you."

² He (Shakspere) would kill a calf in high style.—Anbrey.

³ Theatrical poets.

⁴ Whose education ceased at the Grammar School,

up a commodity, nor art in their brains than was nourished in a serving man's idleness, will take upon them to be the ironical censurers 1 of all, when God and poetry doth know they are the simplest of all." These lacklatins he leaves "to the mercy of their mother tongue, that feed on nought but the crumbs that fall from the translator's trencher," and passes to Menaphon, which was rapidly composed, and original, not stolen from a foreign source. Then he digresses into an abuse of Martin Marprelate, but soon returns to "our trivial translators," and attacks the author of the early Hamlet. "It is a common practice now-a-days amongst a sort of shifting companions that run through every art and thrive by none, to leave the trade of noverint whereto they were born, and busy themselves with the endeavours of art, that could scarcely latinize their neck-verse if they should have need. Yet English Seneca read by candlelight yields many good sentences, as 'blood is a beggar,' and so forth, and if you intreat him fair in a frosty morning he will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfuls of tragical speeches. But what's that which will last always?.... Seneca, let blood line by line and page by page, at length must die to our stage, which makes his famished followers leap into a new occupation," and translate twopenny pamphlets from the Italian, without any knowledge of the language. "And no matter for what can be hoped of them that thrust Elysium into Hell,2 and have not learned, so long as they have lived in the spheres, the just measure of the horizon without an hexameter? Sufficeth it then to botch up a blank-verse with ifs and ands." Then after a digression on St John's College, Cambridge (stolen from Ascham), Nash abuses compendiums of arts, and the "divinity dunces;" then gives a list of English poets, among whom is "George Peele, the chief supporter of pleasaunce now living, the Atlas of poetry, and primus verborum artifex, whose first increase, the Arraignment of Paris, might plead his pregnant dexterity of wit and manifold

¹ As the author of the *Tuming of a Shrew* was the ironical censurer of Marlowe and Greene, whose turgid verses he quoted.

Perhaps a glance at Marlowe's Faustus, of whom it is said—

[&]quot;This word 'damnation' terrifies not him,
For he confounds hell in Elysium."—Ed. 1604, Dyce, p. 83, col. 2.

variety of invention, wherein (me judice) he goeth a step beyond all that write." 1 Then he proceeds, "Sundry other sweet gentlemen I do know that have vaunted their pens in private devices, and tricked up a company of taffaty fools with their feathers, whose beauty, if our poets had not pecked (decked) with the supply of their perriwigs, they might have anticked it until this time up and down the country with the King of Fairies and dined every day at the pease-porridge ordinary with Delfrigus.3 But Tolasso hath forgotten that it was sometime sacked, and beggars that ever they carried their fardels on footback.4 And in truth no marvel, whenas the deserved reputation of one Roscius is of force to enrich a rabble of counterfeits. But let subjects, for all their insolence, dedicate a de profundis every morning to the preservation of their Cæsar, lest their increasing indignities return them ere long their juggling to mediocrity, and they bewail in weeping blanks the wane of their monarchy." Nash then concludes this epistle, which he calls "the firstlings of his folly," with the promise of another book, the Anatomy of Absurdity, which in fact he published the same year, and in which he re-echoes much of the matter I have already quoted. I will here only transcribe a sentence which seems to have special reference to the aspiring ignoramus who ventured to measure swords with such an "Atlas of Poetry" as Peele. "Many there be that are out of love with the obscurity wherein they live, that to win credit to their name encounter with them on whose shoulders all arts do lean. These upstart reformers of arts will seem wise before their time, and now they both begin to counterfeit that which they are not, and to be ashamed of that which they are. He that estimates arts by the insolence of idiots, who profess that wherein they are infants, may deem the University nought but the nurse of folly, and the knowledge of arts nought but the imitation of the stage."

¹ Tamburlain was not printed till the next year, 1590.

3 Delfrigus and the King of Fairies are two of the plays for which the

actor in the Groatsworth of Wit tells Roberto he was famous.

² Hence the "upstart crow decked with our feathers" of Greene's *Groats-morth of Wit* may only mean that Shakspere was one of the actors who had thriven on spouting the lines of Marlowe, Greene, and Peele.

⁴ Referring to wandering players who "travel with their pumps full of gravel" from town to town, carrying their stage properties on their backs.

In the years 1590, 1591, Greene's three penitential pieces, in which he forswears love's lazy languishment, were first published; though The Mourning Garment was probably, and the Farewell to Folly was certainly, written long before, as early as 1587. The Mourning Garment will come before us again in connection with Fair Em. It was published in 1590. In the same year Greene published both parts of Never too late, with its motto, Sero sed serio, the novel which gave occasion to the play of the London Prodigal. Both parts contain an account of the fortunes of Greene himself, under the guise of the pilgrim Francesco. He tells how after his marriage he went to London, and was a victim to the snares of the courtesan Infida, who fleeced him, and then cast him off, distress he "fell in amongst a company of players, who persuaded him to try his wit in writing of comedies, tragedies or pastorals, and if he could perform anything worthy of the stage" they promised to reward him for his pains. Thereupon Francesco "writ a comedy which so generally pleased all the audience, that happy were those actors in short time that could get any of his works, he grew so exquisite in that faculty." In his success Infida tries to lure him back, but he had learned wisdom, and so returns to his wife Isabel.

Francesco's mention of the players gives rise to a long digression in which under guise of a history of the Roman players Greene vents his spleen on the English ones. He traces the origin of plays in Greece, and their transfer to Rome by Plautus and Terence. "Now so highly were comedies esteemed in those days that men of great honour and account were the actors, the senate and the consuls continually present as auditors at all such sports, rewarding the author with rich rewards, according to the excellency of the comedy.\(^1\) Thus continued this faculty famous, till covetousness crept into the quality, and that mean men, greedy of gains, did fall to practise the acting of such plays, and in the Theatre presented their comedies but to such only as rewarded them well for their pains.\(^2\) When thus comedians grew to be mercenaries, then men of account left to practise such

¹ 1st, period. When actors were amateurs of rank, and all the profit in money went to the author.

² 2nd period. Professional actors, who charged their own prices. Acting ceases to be aristocratic, and becomes a popular (but base) trade.

pastimes, and disdained to have their honours blemished with the stain of such base and vile gains; insomuch that both Comedies and Tragedies grew to less account in Rome, in that the free sight of such sports was taken away by covetous desires. Yet the people (who are delighted with such novelties and pastimes) made great resort, paid largely, and highly applauded their doings; insomuch that the actors, by continual use, grew not only excellent but rich and insolent. Amongst whom in the days of Tully one Roscius grew to be of such exquisite perfection in his faculty that he offered to contend with the orators of that time in gesture as they did in eloquence, boasting that he would express a passion in as many sundry actions as Tully could discourse it in variety of phrases. Yea, so proud he grew by the daily applause of people, that he looked for honour and reverence to be done him in the streets; which self-conceit when Tully entered into with a piercing insight he quipped at in this manner.

"It chanced that Roscius and he met at a dinner, both guests unto Archias the poet, where the proud comedian dared to make comparison with Tully. Which insolency made the learned orator to grow into these terms. 'Why, Roscius, art thou proud with Æsop's crow being pranked with the glory of other's feathers? Of thyself thou canst say nothing, and if the cobler hath taught thee to say Ave Cæsar, disdain not thy tutor because thou pratest in a king's chamber. What sentence thou utterest on the stage flows from the censure of our wits; and what sentence or conceit of the invention the people applaud for excellent, that comes from the secrets of our knowledge. I grant you action, though it be a kind of mechanical labour, yet well done 'tis worthy of praise; but you worthless if for so small a toy you wax proud.'

"At this Roscius waxed red, and bewrayed his imperfection with silence. But this check of Tully could not keep others from the blemish of that fault, for it grew to a general vice among the actors to excel in pride as they did in excellence, and to brave it in the streets as they brag it on the stage. So that they revelled in Rome in such

³ Add this passage to those referred to p. 169, note 2.

¹ Tully in Greene's Ciceronis Amor, 1589, is meant for Greene himself.
² 3rd period. The actors begin to rival the orators—i.e. the dramatic authors.

costly robes that they seemed rather men of great patrimony than such as lived by the favour of the people. Which Publius Servilius very well noted; for he being the son of a senator, and a man very valiant, met on a day with a player in the streets richly apparelled, who so far forgot himself that he took the wall of the young nobleman; which Servilius taking in disdain counterchecked with this frump, 'My friend' (quoth he), 'be not so brag of thy silken robes, for I saw them but yesterday make a great show in a broker's shop.' At this the one was ashamed and the other smiled, and they which heard the quip laughed at the folly of the one and the wit of the other. Thus, sir, you have heard my opinion briefly of plays: That Menander devised them for the suppressing of vanities; necessary in a commonwealth as long as they are used in their right kind; the playmakers worthy of honour for their art; and players men deserving both praise and profit as long as they wax neither covetous nor insolent." 1

This account of the players in the first part seems to have provoked a speedy retaliation, for the lines prefixed to the 2nd part declare that Envy was the attendant on Greene's virtue, and exhorted him to write on,

".... though Momus sit and frown—A carter's jig is fittest for a clown."

And in the novel itself we have a new edition of the tragedian Doron of *Menaphon* in the person of the Clown Mullidor.

The next book in which Greene attacks players is the Farewell to Folly, 1591, where he falls foul of Fair Em and its author. I suspect that Fair Em was the Carter's jig of the Mullidor who avenged the cause of the players on Greene. The extract I have already given above.

After these three penitential novels in which Greene finally (as he said) renounced love, and announced his intention petere graviora to give himself to graver studies, he published his books about coneycatching (for which he pilfered Harman) and his Quip for an upstart Courtier (stolen from Thynne). But this fit did not last; in 1592 he wrote that which for Shaksperians is the most interesting of all his

¹ Never toc Late, 1st part, 1590, sig. B 4 recto et verso and C recto.

romances, his *Groatsworth of Wit*. This has been reprinted in the first part of our Shakspere *Allusion-books*, so I need only point out the passages which are to my present purpose. Roberto, the hero of the tale, gives his account of his first introduction to the players by the Roscius who was great in *Delfrigus* and the *King of Fairies*, and could write speeches, and was the author of the *Moral of Man's Wit*, and the *Dialogue of Dives*, and had been for seven years the absolute interpreter of the puppets, in pp. 22 (last line), 23 and 24. For the attack on the players and their new provider Shake-scene see pp. 30, 31.

When this novel was published after its author's death in September, 1592, one I. H. prefixed to it an epistle "to wittie poets or poetical wits," which seems to take up Greene's parable against the poet who had supplanted him. It is a tirade against success. "Under the wings of a wit natural are hatched these three unlucky birds—Impudence, Self-conceit, Emulation. Impudence turns the key of contempt, and lets in hard opinion to pass in judgment upon the general, still bearing out her own disease with a stolen face. Her form is reflected from the glass of flattery, wherein she shows fair, others foul. And doting on figures falsely presented, scornfully kicks down perfect knowledge to the lowest region of disgrace.

"Self-conceit, she prodigiously studies to put out the light of wit by seeming to know beyond the reach of reason, as if she had miraculously discovered some stand from off the earth above the sight of humanity, from whence overlooking all, makes it her own glory hypercritically to reprove others.

"Emulation, she was nursed by a she-toad; she never lins swelling till she burst herself and poisons others: she speaks none fair but a barber; and him for fear too, lest he should show her the trick of a cut throat. She will be none where she may not be best. She's ever struggling to clamber up to the narrow top of absolute perfection, and there to sit alone, whilst the desertful hopes of true discretion willingly give up their care, and silently content to stay below or come behind. These prenominated are the three bold Bayards that justle and shoulder for a sitting place in this world's wide court of

The Devil and Dives is in Posthaste's repertory in Histriomastix.

requests, when virtue and knowledge know it better manners to stand and wait."

The following passage from the *Defence of Cony-catching* by Cuthbert Cony-catcher [Nash?], 1592, illustrates Greene's statement about Roberto in the *Groatsworth of Wit*, p. 25, l. 2—8:—

"What if I should prove you a cony-catcher, Master R[obert] G[reene], would it not make you blush at the matter?.... Ask the Queen's players if you sold them not Orlando Furioso for twenty nobles, and when they were in the country sold the same play to the Lord Admiral's men for as many more?.... But I hear when this was objected that you made this excuse; that there was no more faith to be held with players than with them that valued faith at the price of a feather: for as they were Comedians to art, so the actions of their lives were Camelion like; 1 that they were uncertain variable, time pleasers, men that measured honour by profit, and that regarded their authors not by desert, but by necessity of time."

The last passage I will quote is from R. B.'s Greene's Funerals, 1594:—

"Greene gave the ground to all that wrote upon him.

Nay more, the men that so eclipsed his fame
Purloined his plumes. Can they deny the same?"

The above extracts should be carefully studied. There is no doubt that in the Epistle annexed to the *Groatsworth of Wit Greene* is speaking of Shakspere. The charges against our poet are:

- 1. He is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers.
- 2. He is a player with a tiger's heart.
- 3. He supposes he can bombast out a blank verse with Marlowe
- 4. He is an absolute Johannes factotum.
- 5. He is in his own conceit the only Shakescene in a county.
- 1. We have had the "upstart reformers of arts" (p. 169); the players decked with the poets' feathers, like Æsop's crow (pp. 169, 171), and R. B.'s Greene's Funerals.
 - 2. We have had Greene's hostility against the players, p. 170

Comedian and Camelion. Cf. Histriomastix, Act 4, ad fin:

"—— A Comedian

A whole share, or turn chamelion."

seqq., and in the *Groatsworth of Wit*, where the players are evidently the same as those referred to in Nash's preface to *Menaphon*. See p. 169, note ³.

- 3. The men referred to "thought to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank verse" (p. 167), "botch up blank verse with ifs and ands" (p. 168), "set the end of scholarism in an English blank verse" (p. 165).
- 4. The men attacked by Greene "carped at all" (p. 166); were "alchemists of eloquence" (p. 167), "ironical censurers of all" (p. 168), and considered "the knowledge of arts nought but the imitation of the stage" (p. 169).
- 5. And the whole tone of the extracts goes to show that Nash and Greene both wrote against men who disparaged the University wits in favour of one who had only been educated at a Grammar School. It is the same controversy which is expressed some 10 years later in the *Return from Parnassus*. "Few of the University pen plays well.... Why, here's our fellow Shakspere puts them all down," Act IV. sc. iii.

Hence if we only considered the parallelisms of language, and the identity of matter and sentiment between the extract from the *Groatsworth of Wit*, which undoubtedly refers to Shakspere, and the other extracts, we should have good reason for suspecting that they refer to Shakspere also.

But when we see that these other extracts refer also to Fair Em, to the Taming of a Shrew, and to the older Hamlet, and that these

It seems as if the older Hamlet contained the "To be or not to be," and was written in 1589, if we can believe the following to refer to it. Nash, preface to his edition of Astrophel and Stella, 1591. (Introduction to Shakespeare Society's reprint of Pierce Penniless, p. xxv.) "My style is somewhat heavy-gated, and cannot dance and trip and go it so lively, with 'oh my love, ah my love, all my love's gone,' as other shepherds that have been fools in the morris time out of mind: nor hath my prose any skill to imitate the almond leaf verse, or sit taboring five years together nothing but 'to be, to be' on a paper drum." The paper drum is the slang word for dramatic poetry. How the old Hamlet was regarded by another of the "University wits" may be seen from Lodge's description of Jealousy (Wits Miserie, 1596, p. 56). "He walks for the most part in black under colour of gravity, and looks as pale as the vizard of the ghost which cried so miserably at the theatre, 'Hamlet, revenge,'" The tradition goes that the top of Shakspere's histrionic performances was his own Hamlet's Ghost.

plays are all attributed to Shakspere by old tradition—when we see, too, that it is said in 1594, "Greene gave the ground" (i. e. the ground bass, the subject on which the melody and harmony are based) "to all who wrote upon him;" and when we find that the plays written on Greene and adapted out of his novels are all, so far as I know, traditionally attributed to Shakspere, then surely the case is immensely strengthened in favour of these other extracts referring to Shakspere.

But if they do so, the consequences for his biography and for the history of his art will be very great. Among others, all the reasons which have led critics to doubt that the lines about Spenser's and Lady Strange's "pleasant Willy" in the *Tears of the Muses* will disappear, and a great field of Shakspere's early work, of which we have now few glimpses, except where some remains are embedded in altered plays, will be opened to our investigation.

But I must return to Fair Em. The play has two plots; one refers to the loves of William the Conqueror, the other to the wooing of Fair Em by her three suitors. The first plot is very like the story of Greene's "Tully's Love," dedicated in 1589 to Ferdinando Lord Strange, whose players ridiculed it in Fair Em, where the loves of William the Conquerer and the Marquess Lubeck for Mariana and Blanche are the counterparts of the loves of Lentulus and Tully for Terentia and Flavia in the novel. Lentulus is the conqueror whose fancy is inflamed by the soldier's description of Terentia. He employs his friend Tully to woo for him. Tully, though in love with her, loyally urges his friend's suit, with the sacrifice of his own. But the lady will not be so bandied about. At length Lentulus, seeing that he cannot win Terentia, is won by Flavia's affection, constant through all slights, and leaves Terentia to Tully.

The other plot was probably founded on the lost ballad of "The Miller's daughter of Manchester" licenced to Henry Carre March 2, 158°. But the plot was adapted to the controversy between Greene and the players. In his *Menaphon* Greene allegorized this controversy by describing the rivalry of the rustic Roscius Doron with the courtly Melicert for the head of Samela.

In the second part of his Never too Late Doron is transformed into Mullidor, a still greater clown, who attempts to compete with the shepherd Eurymachus and Radagon the courtier for the hand of Mirimeda. Evidently the same allegory is continued in the rivalry of Manville, Mounteney, and Vallingford for the hand of Fair Em. Manville, with his final renunciations of love, which are almost textually copied from some which appear so frequently in Greene's three penitential novels, is evidently Greene himself, and by a like rule I should be disposed to identify the two friendly rivals Mounteney and Vallingford with the stately Marlowe and the humbler Shakspere, who is after all the successful candidate. This application would sufficiently account for the three phenomena of Greene's anger at the play, its ascription to Greene by Phillips, and to Shakspere by another tradition.

Similarly the character of William the Conqueror is no more historical than that of William Rufus in the later analogous Satiromastix of Dekker, a play similarly referring to an actor's controversy, and where Rufus is generally understood to mean Shakspere. According to an anecdote preserved by Manningham, William the Conqueror was a name by which Shakspere was occasionally known; but in Fair Em it refers not to him, but to William Kemp, who was known sometimes as the Cavaliero Kemp, sometimes as Don Gulielmo, whom Philip Sidney mentions as Will, my Lord of Leicester's jesting player, and who in 1586 led a troop of English comedians to the Danish Court, to win the Danish public. Ravn has collected the notices of the English players in Denmark in the first No. of For Ide og Virkelighed, Jan. 1870, pp. 79, seqq. In Jan., 1579, we find there three Englishmen, John Craft, John Person, and John Kirkman, to whom Thomas Bull and Matthias Zoega were afterwards joined. John Person after some absence returned to Denmark April 1, 1583, and had his pay reduced in 1585, while Thomas Bull "was beheaded at Kroneborg Aug. 19, 1586." On the 17th of June, 1586, William Kempe, with his boy Daniel Jones, came to the Court, with five other "minstrels or tumblers," Thomas Stevens, George Brian, Thomas King, Thomas Pope, and Robert Percy; Kemp and Jones went away in August or September; the other five stayed a few months, and N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1875. 12

then went to the Court of the King of Saxony, where, according to Kohn ('Shakspere in Germany,' pt. 1, p. xxiii.), they were in October, 1586.

William the Conqueror is William Kemp, who in the midst of his English triumphs is suddenly stung with the desire of Danish conquests: he goes to Copenhagen, but with an artist's restlessness soon wearies of the place, and changes his Danish for a Swedish love. He leaves Denmark, and goes to Sweden or Dresden, where we find the rest of his troop; anyhow, in the play he suddenly becomes Duke of Saxony instead of Duke of Britain.

The allegory of the play would therefore seem to be as follows: Kemp on going to Denmark left behind certain of his fellows to try their fortunes in England. Two of his men, Mounteney and Vallingford, contend for the favour of the Manchester public (the mill being the theatre, and the miller's daughter the audience), which was then devoted to Greene. Greene is overcome by them, and at last Vallingford secures the hand of the lady. The local allusions of the play are such as could hardly be understood out of Lancashire. As when the disguised Knight, who appears to be the miller, says,

"Why should not I content me with this state As good Sir Edmund Trostard did the flail?"

Sir Edmund Trafford was a magistrate and frequently high sheriff of Lancashire, and was also the custos of Manchester Castle, where several of the chief recusants were kept. There was a tradition in his family that the Trafford of the day had withstood the Norman invasion, and had, in consequence, been obliged to disguise himself as a clown and thresh corn, and that he was discovered with the flail in his hand. In the middle of the 16th century the family adopted as its crest a thresher with a flail, with the motto, now Thus. The play belonged to Lord Strange's company, which, if it frequented the lordships of its patron, must have specially belonged to Lancashire.

I have said that the tradition which assigns the play to Shakspere or Greene would be abundantly satisfied with the admission that it was about Shakspere and Greene. Nevertheless it may be worth while to say a word or two about its ascription to Shakspere. As it stands, it would be an insult to criticism to ask us to consider it to be Shakspere's. But perhaps we have not got it as it was written. It may be no nearer the original than, for instance, the Hamlet of 1603 is like the first version of that play which Shakspere wrote. And if we make abstraction of the dialogue of the play, and look to its plan, we perhaps may find parallels to Shakspere's earlier work, as in the regular alternations of scenes from the two plots, like the Falstaffian and Royal scenes in 1 Henry IV. (2 Henry IV. is quite differently managed), in the absence of all exaggeration in the subjective and not objective presentation of the characters (who speak of themselves, not in the third, but in the first person), in the reduplications of incident, so like those in Much Ado, the Merry Wives, Loves Labour's Lost, and 3 Henry VI.

Even in the language we often come across lines which seem to contain a distorted reminiscence of Shakspere's style. Thus William's disappointment with his first sight of the Danish Blanche,

"Ill head, worse-featured, uncomely, nothing courtly, Swart and ill-favour'd, a collier's sanguine skin,"

and his first view of Mariana,

"A modest countenance, no heavy sullen look,
Not very fair, but richly deck'd with favour;
A sweet face, an exceeding dainty hand;
A body, were it formed all of wax
By all the cunning artists of the world
It could not better be proportioned."

Compare with the first passage Comedy of Errors, IV. ii. 20:

"Ill-fae'd, worse bodied, shapeless everywhere, Vicious, ungentle, foolish, blunt, unkind, Stigmatical in making, worse in mind."

And with the second, where the idea is that art excels nature, Venus and Adonis, 289:

"Look, when a painter would surpass the life In limning out a well proportioned steed His art with nature's workmanship at strife, As if the dead the living should exceed"—

Compare also the Euphuist precepts of the miller to his daughter in

Fair Em, p. 5, with those of the Countess to her son in All's Well, and of Polonius to Laertes in Hamlet:

"—In pursuit of all amorous desires
Regard thine honour. Let not vehement sighs
Nor earnest vows importing fervent love,
Render thee subject to the wrath of lust;
For that transformed to former ¹ sweet delight
Will bring thy body and thy soul to shame.
Chaste thoughts and modest conversations
(Of proof to keep out all enchanting vows
Vain sighs, forced tears, and pitiful aspects)
Are they that make deformed ladies fair,
Poor wretch; ² and such ³ enticing men,
That seek of all ⁴ but only present grace,
Shall, in perseverance of a virgin's due, ⁵
Prefer the most refusers to the choice
Of such a soul as yielded what they thought. ⁶ "

The misreadings in the edition (which are not half so gross here as in a multitude of other passages of the play) show that the copy from which the Quarto was printed was taken down by ear, not transcribed by the eye—'former' for 'form of,' 'poor wretch' for 'poor rich,' &c.

Hence I think that the follies of the existing Fair Em are quite insufficient to prove that Shakspere did not write an original Fair Em to which our present copy may bear the same relation as the Hamlet of 1603 to the authentic 'Corambis' Hamlet. And the poetic worthlessness of the play in its present state does not at all measure its value as a link in the biography of Shakspere, and the history of his mind.

[' read form of]
[' read such]

 $\begin{bmatrix} ^2 \text{ read } rich \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} ^5 \text{ read } vow \end{bmatrix}$

[3 read all]
[6 read sought]

V.

ON THE BOND-STORY IN THE MERCHANT OF VENICE, AND A VERSION OF IT IN THE CURSOR MUNDI.

BY MISS TOULMIN SMITH.

(Read at the Society's Meeting on April 9th, 1875.)

In the course of some study of the *Cursor Mundi*, a long religious poem in English, written about the end of the 13th century, I have been somewhat surprised to find a story, resembling the story of the pound of flesh in the *Merchant of Venice*, interwoven with the legend of the Finding of the Holy Cross. As any link in the history of one of Shakspere's originals will be of interest to a Shakspere Society, I venture to say a few words upon it here.

This may be the more interesting as it is the oldest example of the tale yet found existing in the English language. An extract containing it has been printed (from the Fairfax MS. in the Bodleian Library) by Dr Rich. Morris in his volume of Legends of the Holy Rood (Early English Text Society, 1871), but, so far as I can find, beside his passing remark upon it, no notice has been taken of the occurrence of this tale in the Cursor Mundi by any other writer except Kemble. The only instances in which the story has hitherto been known in English, which might have been accessible to Shakspere, are—(1) some of the copies of the English version of the Gesta Romanorum (Harl. 7333, printed by Sir Fred. Madden); (2) Anthony Munday's translation of Silvayn's Orator (printed in 1596), which contains a legal argument between a Jew and a Christian over a bond of flesh; and (3) the Ballad of Gernutus a Jew (printed in Percy's Relics from the Pepys Collection).

¹ M. Simrock says, writing in 1831 (On the Plots of Sh. Plays, ed. Halli-well for the Shakespere Society, 1850, p. 48), that "no representation of this story has been found in the English language," besides the ballad of Gernutus and Munday's Orator. He and his editor seem to have overlooked the Gesta story, both in Douce and in Sir F. Madden's English Gesta Romanorum,

Of the two—or, as Mr Grant White makes it out, three—stories interwoven in the *Merchant of Venice*, that of the Bond is the most important, as the one round which the force and action of the play turns. The story is very ancient, as well as widely-spread in different forms,—how different seems scarcely to have been noticed by the numerous writers on the subject; as I have compared those which I have been able to get at, I may, perhaps, be permitted a few words about them further on.

The following is the story in the Cursor Mundi. A Christian goldsmith in the service of Queen Eline (mother of Constantine) owed a sum of money to a Jew; if he could not pay it by a certain term he was to render the weight of the money wanting in his own flesh. The day came, the money was unpaid, the Jew would have his judgment, and came to the Court of Queen Eline, where Benciras and Ansiers, two messengers who had been sent by Constantine to beg his mother seek for the Holy Cross, were sitting as judges. Jew bore a sharp knife in his hand, the Christian stood naked before them, but the Jew would not hear of ransom,—no more than a rush! Benciras and Ansiers promise the Jew he shall have right judgment, and ask how he will treat the man if he be adjudged to him. "How?" said the Jew, "the worst that I can or may by my law. I shall first put out his eyes, then have his hands that he works with. tongue, and nose, and so on till I have my covenant." The judges answer, "It seems you will not spare him, take his flesh, he grants you that, so that you save his blood; if he lose a drop of blood the wrong is on you; though his flesh were bought or sold he never thought to sell his blood." The Jew swore at this,

"Then said that Jew, 'by saint Drightin Me think the worse part is mine, To take the flesh if I assay Then the blood will run away; Fordon ye have me with your dome That ye Romans brought from Rome. Curses therefore may they have All that such a dome me gave!"

printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1838. They are not the only writers who ignore it.

1 The original is printed at the end (p. 188).

Then said Benciras, "All the court has heard you abuse us (missay) in your ire, the queen has sent us here to do righteousness and we have told you truth." The queen, being sure that the Christian was safe, bade them adjudge the Jew to give up to her all his goods and that he should lose his abusive tongue. The Jew found this so keen a judgment that he cried out, "I would rather tell you where your Lord's rood-tree lies than be thus condemned," and Queen Eline forgives him on condition of his showing where the cross is hid, which he does.

To show the place that this chapter out of the Cursor holds in the history of the Bond-story, I will shortly recall the principal sources and versions, English and foreign, as far as I have been able to find them cited. I need hardly say that an Eastern origin is usually, though not unanimously, assigned to the tale; Grimm, however, considered that it was of native German production, while M. Simrock is of opinion that it had its rise on a point of Germano-Roman law,—was, in fact, an old law-anecdote.¹ Taking the versions in as nearly as can be judged their chronological order, we have the story found in,

- (1) Dolopathos, or the King and the Seven Sages. A Latin collection of tales written by John of Haute-Seille, 1179—1212. Put into French by Herbert in 1223. The story told by the fourth Sage.
- (2) Cursor Mundi, written in English (northern dialect), at the end of 13th century.
- (3) A Latin tale found by Mr Wright in Harl. 7322 (quoted by Halli ell in Simrock's book, and cited by Grant White 2), date of the MS. about A.D. 1320.
- (4) The Italian novel in the collection called *Il Pecorone*, written in 1378 (though not printed till 1558).³
- (5) Gesta Romanorum, Anglo-Latin version, compiled about 1390, and English version about 1450. Not in the original Latin version, according to Madden; but found in several Latin MSS. of 15th cent. in Germany, and in the German edition of Augsburg, 1489. Oesterley's Gesta Romanorum, Berlin, 1872, pp. 57, 93, 229, &c.

On the Plots of Shakespere's Plays, pp. 48, 55.

Edition of Shakespere's Plays, vol. iv. p. 132.
 Translation in J. P. Collier's Shakespere Library, vol. ii, p. 65.

- (6) Meister gesang of Kaiser Karls Recht, printed at Bamberg in 1493.¹
- (7) Les Divers Propos memoraoies aes nobles et illustres hommes de la chrestienté. Par Gilles Corrozet, Paris, 1557, p. 67.
 - (8) Tyron's 'Recueil,' &c., Anvers, 1590.2
- (9) English ballad of Gernutus the Jew, thought by some to be as old as Shakspere.³
- (10) Anthony Munday's translation of Silvayn's Orator, printed 1596.
- (11) I put together six collections or books in French mentioned by Douce, dates between 1625 and 1704.4
 - (12) Cambridge Jests, pub. 1674.
- (13) A Persian story given in Gladwin's 'Persian Moonshee,' 1801, story 13.
- (14) A story from an imperfect Persian MS. (known as Munro's MS.) given by Malone.⁵
- (15) An Egyptian version occurs in 'The Autobiography of Lutfullah,' ed. Eastwick, pp. 122-8, cited by Clark and Wright, Introd. to *M. of Venice* for Clarendon Press Series. This is very much like the story in Munro's MS.

I do not include among these the incident related by Cardinal Leti as having happened in 1585, because it professes to be historic; nor the play of *The Jew*, said by Gosson to have been performed at the Bull, because—though it seems probable—we cannot be sure that it did contain the Bond-story. Oesterley gives other instances, but these are all that I have been able to track out. I put the Persian tales last, as we only have them from modern publications, and cannot easily judge of their date.

We now see that the three collections of stories or legends, Dolopathos, the Cursor Mundi, and the Gesta Romanorum, were produced within two centuries—the 12th—14th. Dolopathos, the oldest original, seems to have been formed by John of Haute-Seille upon

¹ Quoted by Simrock, p. 56.

² Douce, Illustrations of Shakespere, vol. i. p. 279.

³ Percy's Relics; also printed in Knight's Shakespere, vol. ii. p. 238.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 279.

⁵ Shakespere's Works, vol. v. p. 168.

the History of the Seven Sages, which may be traced back, through the Hebrew romance Paraboles de Sendabar, to the oriental romance, the Book of Sendabad, of 10th century. But the Bond-story does not belong to this, it is one of the new tales introduced by John into his work, the source for which M. G. Paris suggests may have been popular tradition. The claim by Deslongchamps, therefore, that Herbert "may be considered as having furnished to the English tragedian the terrible catastrophe of his drama," through the imitations in the Gesta Romanorum, made popular in an old Ballad, cannot stand.² The date of the Cursor Mundi is put by Dr Rich. Morris at about 1286; the poem is a compilation from several sources, telling many of the chief stories in the Bible, and the apocryphal Gospels, with some early legends: as the writer himself tells us, it is translated in part from the Latin, in part from 'Southern English,' and doubtless in part from French. The Bond-story occurs about the beginning of the last quarter of the Book (in the Göttingen version), introduced, as I have said, in the Legend of the Finding of the Holy Rood. I now will pass on to say of the Gesta Romanorum, which is so frequently referred to by Shaksperian editors, that, bearing in mind Sir F. Madden's warning as to the confusion commonly made about the different versions of that work, the Bond-story is only to be found in the compilation written in Latin, possibly about 1390 (Sir F. Madden's 'Anglo-Latin'), and in the Old English translation of this, probably made in the reign of Hen. VI. (Harl. 7333, chap-40); it is not found in the Latin prints of the original Gesta of Pierre Bercheur (died 1362), nor in Wynkyn de Worde's edition.³ I take these facts from Sir F. Madden's Comparative table of the versions of the Gesta (appended to his edition of the Old English MS. for the Roxburghe Club), and call attention to them because, while on the

² Analyse de Dolopathos, printed at the end of the Essai sur les Fables

Indiennes, Paris, 1838, pp. 113, 127.

^{1 &}quot;Ce recit célèbre apparait peut-être pour la première fois dans le Dolopathos, mais comme les autres versions, orientales et occidentales, ne dérivent pas de celle de Jean, elle doivent avoir une source commune, et il est possible que pour notre moine cette source ait été la tradition populaire."—Romania, Oct. 1873, p. 489.

³ As mentioned above, it is found in Latin MSS. of 15th cent. on the continent.

one hand we find Malone, Gervinus, Simrock, and Collier ignorant of any earlier instances in English than the meagre indication of the story by Anthony Munday, even of the English Gesta of Hen. VI.'s time; on the other hand, those who find themselves so frequently referred to the Gesta Romanorum (in a vague way) for the story may reply, "Of course Shakspere got it from Richard Robinson's translation, published in 1577, which was so popular that it had gone through seven editions by 1602, and consequently is now so rare that there is not even a well-thumbed copy to be found in the British Museum." But it does not appear that Shakspere could have known this tale from Robinson's book, which was founded on Wynkyn de Worde's edition; I have not been able to see a copy, but Collier quotes the Casket Story from it in his Shakspere Library, and surely would have also given the Bond-story had he found it there. I find, too, that Douce makes this very remark with regard to Farmer's researches. The date of the Italian novel, 1378, places it very near the Anglo Latin Gesta; it is too well known for me to say more than that it possesses, in common with Dolopathos and the English Gesta, certain principal incidents not found in other versions of the story, while the date at which it was printed, 1558, puts it within Shakspere's reach.

I now come to the comparison of the story itself as found in the *Cursor*. In looking at this, not only did I find that it varies from other versions, as might be expected, but that other versions vary so much from one another, notwithstanding the erroneous assertion of Mr Grant White to the contrary, that it may be interesting to note the principal points where they agree and where they differ.

The stories in *Dolopathos*, *Il Pecorone*, the English *Gesta*, and the *Ballad of Gernutus* are those which have the greatest resemblance both in outline and in fulness of detail to Shakspere's play. But in *Dolopathos* and the *Gesta* there is no Jew: in the first it is a

^{1 &}quot;In all the other versions [besides Il Pecorone], with one exception, widely as they differ in other respects, we have the essential elements of a fatal bond incurred for the sake of obtaining a woman beautiful and wealthy, a forfeiture of the bond, and the salvation of the successful lover, or the friend who incurred the penalty in his behalf, by the special pleading of the lady, who appears at the trial disguised as a man. The exception is the Latin story discovered by Mr Wright," (3) in the above series. Note to Merchant of Venice in Shakspere's Works, Vol. iv. p. 135.

young lord who borrows from a rich and offended vassal, pledging a pound of flesh; he is saved by his lady's pleading, and the creditor who refused to receive back the money has now also to pay a sum to his lord. In the Gesta a knight and merchant at Rome are the parties, all the flesh is pledged in a charter of blood, to be cut off with a sword,—the rest of the story is like that in Dolopathos, but In Il Pecorone and the ballad a Jew of Venice and a Christian Merchant are concerned in the pound of flesh; these stories are well known, and I need only remark that the incident of the ring given by Portia is (I believe), out of Shakspere, only to be found in Il Pecorone. Going back to the Cursor, we have the ancient antipathy of the Jew and the Christian brought in, the incidentals of the sharp knife and the drop of blood (somewhat insisted on by some), and, as in *Dolopathos* and the Gesta, the outwitted creditor is himself condemned in the end. But there is no lady in the case, either to be won by a borrowing lover, or acting as pleader. In this peculiarity the Cursor story agrees with Mr Wright's Latin tale (Harl. 7322) of 1320, and the Meister gesang version of 1493, in the first of which (the scene is laid in Dacia) one brother borrows from another, on a hand's breadth of his flesh, money in order to entertain some guests, and is saved from the cruelty of his brother by his prince claiming his blood; in the second a merchant borrows money of a Jew to try his fortune.

Another version of the story without any lady being concerned is found in my instances, 7, 8, 11, and 12; Corrozet (1557) and Tyron (1590), followed by a volume called Cambridge Jests, 1674, all give the tale as of a Christian borrowing from a Jew at Constantinople, on condition of paying 2 oz. flesh for usury. He afterwards pays the principal, but refuses the usury; the Jew is adjudged his right if he cuts off neither more nor less than the 2 oz., and of course he gives it up. Douce mentions six other French collections in which this same tale is found.¹

The outline indicated by Silvayn's Orator is very slight; the two

¹ These books are,—Roger Bontemps en belle humeur; Tresor des Recreations, 1625, p. 27; Doctæ nugæ Gaudensij Jocosi, 1713, p. 23; Courieur facetieux, Lyon, 1650, p. 109; Chasse ennuy, Paris, 1645, p. 49; Apophthegmes, ou la recreation de la jeunesse, p. 155.

arguments are between a Jew and a Christian in Turkey, and the bond is for a pound of flesh. The judgment given is the same as that in the Eastern tales to be next spoken of.

The Eastern tale, found in Gladwin's Persian Moonshee and in the British Magazine for 1800, is very imperfect, and has but a bald relation to Shakspere's. 'A person' wagers with 'another,' that if he did not win he might cut off a seer of his flesh; they go to court about it, and the judge says the plaintiff may cut the flesh, but if he exceeds or falls short, he will be punished. So the plaintiff drops the matter.

A like judgment is given in the tale from Munro's MS., where a Mussulman in Syria gives a Jew a bond for a pound of flesh, which is forfeited by mistake. So also in the Egyptian tale.

The result of this imperfect analysis of eleven versions (for my numbers 7, 8, 11, and 12 all turn out to be the same) is that, out of the eleven, only seven have a Jew as one of the contracting parties; two of the four in which there is no Jew being the important versions of Dolopathos and the Gesta Romanorum. Of the eleven, only four have a lady brought in, either as the motive power of the tale, or (in addition) as the saviour of the debtor. These four are Dolopathos, Gesta Rom., Il Pecorone, and the Ballad of Gernutus. The conclusions may not seem very important, yet, if true, they are worth attending to in the presence of such generalizations as that of Mr G. White, and of the eloquent Commentary by François Victor Hugo, whose fervour on behalf of the poor Jew seems to have carried him beyond facts.¹

EXTRACT FROM CURSOR MUNDI, MS. GÖTTINGEN, leaf 142, back, col. 2.

pan sent þe king costantine Sandir-men² till his mod*er* eline, For to seke, widvten hone,³ þe crois þat i*es*u was on-done, To find þat hali tre sumquar, And do a kirc be raised þar: Sir benciras and ansieris pir tua men war messageris, pai war sent to pe quene fra rome, Bot herkins nu hu pai gaf dome. pis leuedi 4 had pat time hir wid A cristen man was gode goldsmith,

¹ Commentary on the *Merchant of Venice*, by François Victor Hugo, translated by E. L. Samuel. London, 1863, pp. 11, 12.

² messengers

³ delay

⁴ lady

Make till hir ful wele he cutht; Bot pouer he was, and hard in dett Till a iuu, and terme had sett, A sume of mone for to amunt, bat askid him ful hard acunt.2 It was wele sene pat ait 3 was hard, For he him asked wid sli forward If he his mone moght noght gete, bat ilke weght bat bar war less, He suld zeild of his aun fless. pe dai es gan, pat dett vnquitt, be bodi most bileue 5 nu for itt: be cristen dred ful sare for pine,6 Bot be iuu wald neuer fine. Bath to be quene curt bai come, be iuu thral 8 bad giue him dome, Scharp knif in hand he bar, be cristen man stod nakid bar. bai all wald haf again him boght, Bot grant of iuu ne gat pai noght Of ransun, na mare þan a rish,9 wald he of here bot of his fless. ban said benciras and ansiers, "bu sal haue, brober, all bat be fers, be quene has bidden vs to deme 10 To be all bat to right es queme.11 Sai me hu þu wile him dight, 12 If pat he be dempt 13 to be wid be ingement pai suld pam sett, right."

"Hu?" said be iuu, "bot bi mi bat be cristen man was quite.27

lay, 14 be werist 15 bat euer i can or may. His eien firist 16 putt vte i sall, And his hend bat he wirkes wid-all, bat in hir curt sli missau 30 make.

lau [e],17 Till bat i mi couenand haue." be messageris him gaue ansuere, "ban semis naght bu wil him Quar lijs zur lauerd rode-tre,

spare,

Quatkin thing als scho wald muth, | Take pan be fless, pat grantes he, Sua bat be blod may saued be; A drope of blod if pat he tine, 18 we giue vr dome, be wrang es bine. Quat-sum 19 his fless was sald or boght,

His blod to sell he neuer thought, zeild be be fless he eswele vnknaun, Sauue him be blod, bat es his aun." pat he suld zeild 4 him for his dett [p]an said pat iuu, "bi sant

drightin 20 Me thinc be wers part es min; * To take the flesshe if I assay ben be blode wil ryn a-way, Fordon²¹ 3e haue me wid 3ur dome, bat ze ramanis broght fra rome. Maugre 22 parfor mot pai haue, All pat suilk a dome me gaue!" Bensiras pan said "parfay! All has pis curt be herd missay,23 Me and mi lauerd sir ansire bu has missaid vs in bin ire. And we will missay be na wight, Bot ellis of be we will haf right. be quene has sent vs hider-to bis curt, rightwisnes for to do, And sothfastnes 24 haue we be said, par-for has pu nu vs missaid." be guene bad widuten lett For 25 sekir was scho pan of site, 26 be iuu was dempt sua bat be quene Suld have his catel 28 all bidene,29 In hir merci his tung to take, Tung and nese, and sipen be be in him thought selcuthli tene 31 At pis dome pat was sua kene, And said on hij, all might here, "Me war leuer 3u for to lere pan dampned sua sone to be."

^{*} In Fairfax MS., Bodleian. bespeak ² reckoning ³ oath ⁴ pay ⁵ remain ⁶ pain ⁷ stay, give up ⁸ slave ⁹ rush ¹⁰ to judge ¹⁴ agreeable, pleasing ¹² treat ¹³ adjudged ¹⁴ law ¹⁵ worst ¹⁶ first ¹⁷ rest, remainder ¹⁸ lose ¹⁹ although ²⁰ God ²¹ undone ²² curse 23 abuse 24 truth 25 For safe (or free) was she then from sorrow 26 punishment 27 free 28 goods 29 forthwith 30 abuse 31 wonderfully injured

POSTSCRIPT TO THE RICHARD III. DISCUSSION, p. 124.

MR SPEDDING was not present at the Discussion of his Paper on the corrected edition of *Richard III*. But having since read the printed remarks both of Mr Matthew and Mr Pickersgill, he informs me (F. J. F.) that, after careful consideration of every point urged by those gentlemen in behalf of their several views, he is still of opinion that the relation between the two texts of this play may be best explained by supposing—

1. That Shakspere wrote *Richard III*. for the theatre when he was a young man, a practised rhymester, but new in dramatic blank

verse.

2. That he wrote it not to be printed and read, but to be acted and heard, for the pleasure of an audience which was not nice in literary criticism, but moved by broad dramatic effects.

3. That it was printed without preparation for the press or

superintendence by himself.

4. That being thus put forward as a book for literary judges to read, he wished to clear it of defects which would be felt by them, though not by an audience.

5. That he began accordingly to prepare a corrected and amended

copy.

- 6. That being at the time much occupied with new productions at the theatre, he had not leisure to complete his corrected copy of *Richard III.*; and for that, or some other reason, laid it by in an unfinished state.
- 7. That for the purpose of this revision he had used one of the printed copies (probably the 3rd Quarto) to make corrections in; and that this copy, with such corrections as he had made,—"corrections and additions, interlinear, marginal, and on inserted leaves,"—came into the hands of Heminge and Condell, and was used for the Folio of 1623 as "the true and original copy."

8. And therefore "that the text of the Folio (errors being corrected or allowed for) represents the result of Shakspere's own latest revision, and approaches nearest to the form in which he wished it to

stand."

No 4

VI.

NOTE UPON THE ELF-LOCKS IN ROMEO AND JULIET

(I. iv. 91 and 92).

BY J. WICKHAM LEGG, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at the 18th Meeting of the Society, held on Oct. 8, 1875.)

I HAVE little doubt that the Elf-locks described in the following lines are the appearance known to physicians as the plica polonica1:

And bakes the *Elf-locks* in foule sluttish haires, Which, once untangled, much misfortune bodes.

The reasons which I have for this belief are the following:

- i. The plica is thought to be due to some supernatural cause.
- ii. The *plica* is due simply to lack of cleanliness.² After long discussion, this seems to be granted by nearly all physicians of the present time. This is not the place for giving reasons for this statement, but those who wish to inquire further into the subject may find all about the *plica*, looked at from a medical point of view, in Hebra's *Hautkrankheiten*. (In Virchow's *Handb. d. sp. Path. u. Ther.*

² Cf. Lear, II. iii. 10:

Whiles I may 'scape,
I will preserve myself: and am bethought
To take the basest and most poorest shape,
That ever penury, in contempt of man,
Brought near to beast: my face I'll grime with filth;
Blanket my loins; elf all my hair in knots;
And with presented nakedness out-face
The winds and persecutions of the sky.

¹ My search amongst travels in Poland for a description of the plica has been hitherto fruitless. I have looked through Hakluyt's 'Collection,' as far as it pertains to Russia, and find nothing; neither can I find anything in the Hakluyt Society's publications. I have also looked through all they say they have in the Bodleian of Travels in Poland published before the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet, but to no purpose.

Bd. III., Theil II., Lief. I., Erlangen, 1870, 2te Auflage, p. 52.) The plica is common amongst savages all over the world, and amongst all who neglect cleansing and combing the hair. It is thus likely enough to have been common in England until the rise of Puritanism made cleanliness a virtue. Of this there is some evidence. Glisson (De Rachitide, Lond. 1650, Cap. I.) speaks of the plica polonica, together with other diseases, now known not to be new, as being sprung up within the last age. And in the Philosophical Transactions, 1747, vol. xliv., Part II. p. 556, there is an account of a woman, affected with a plica, whose mother likewise suffered from the same disorder, and was born in 1645. This last date brings us near to Shakspere's time.

iii. The possession of a plica has been looked upon by the peasants for past ages as a sure guard against all kinds of evil. At the present day the same superstition prevails in the east of Europe. If, during a long illness, a plica form, the peasants believe that all will go well. It is a sure forerunner, so they think, of recovery. If cut off, or otherwise taken away, they look for madness, apoplexy, and every kind of evil. I have read of an unhappy lady in Hungary, who suffered from an incurable disorder, buying a plica at a great price from a peasant and concealing it in her head-dress as a charm or amulet. Sir Thomas Browne (Pseudoxia Epidemica, Lond., 1650, Sec. Ed., p. 226.) likewise speaks of "the fears of poling1 Elve-locks or complicated haires of the head."

It will be thus seen that the Elf-locks correspond with the *plica* in all the particulars given: that they are due to some facry or supernatural influence; to foul sluttish habits, and in this Shakspere shows himself in advance of some physicians, even of our own day; and that their disentanglement bodes much misfortune. I do not think the comparison can be more complete.

Mr P. A. Daniel, in the Revised Edition of Romeo and Juliet published by our Society, prefers to read 'once entangled' instead of 'once untangled,' the reading of the first two Quarto Editions and of the Folio Edition, because it is the entanglement, and not the dis-

¹ polling, cutting off.

entanglement, which is inauspicious. I trust I have shown that if there be an allusion in these lines to the *plica polonica*, it is absolutely necessary to accept the early reading 'untangled.' If we accept 'entangled' as the reading, then we must reject any allusion under the name of 'Elf-locks' to the *plica*: for the entanglement of the *plica* boded no misfortune; it was a piece of great good fortune, which lasted for ever if the hairs did not become untangled.'

Oct. 8, 1875.

[Scraps to fill up gaps.—F.]

'brach': 1 Hen. IV., III. i. 240. "And albeit some of this sort [Bloodhounds] in English be called Brache, in Scotish, Rache, the cause thereof resteth in the she-sex, and not in the general kinde. For we Englishmen call Bitches belonging to the hunting kind of Dogs, by the tearms above mentioned."—J. Cay's English Dogs, in Topsell's Four-footed Beasts (1607), p. 131, ed. 1658.

'buttons': "'tis in his buttons; he will carry 't" (Host, of young master Fenton winning sweet Anne Page).—Merry Wives, III. ii. 71.

I suspect a double entendre for the groundlings.\(^1\) Compare also, \(^1\) Lappe, il culo gli fa lappe, his taile makes **buttons**, his buttocks goes a twitter twatter.\(^1\)—1598; Florio.

'Convey': the wise it call.—Merry Wives, I. iii. 32.

"Involare, to steale, to filch, to purloine, to pilfre, to conveigh away. Involatore, a theefe, a stealer, a filcher, a purloiner, a conveigher away."—1598; Florio.

' England': King John, last three lines.

- "I do maruel greatly how the Saxsons should conquere Englonde, for it is but a smalle contre to be compared to Englond; for I think, if all the world were set against Englond, it might neuer be conquerid, they beyng treue within them selfe."—1542-1547; Andrew Boorde, Introduction of Knowledge, p. 164; ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. Text Soc. 1870.
- 'face painting': L. L. Lost, Sonnets, &c. There was then (as there is now) another reason why honest women shouldn't paint. "Pipkin. The gentlewoman of the old house, that is as well known by the colour she lays on her cheeks, as an alehouse by the painting is laid on his lattice; she that is, like homo, common to all men: she that is beholden to no trade, but lives of herself."—1602; How a man may choose a good Wife from a bad. Dodsley, ix. 53. Compare Marston's "I am not as well known by my wit as an alehouse by a red lattice."—ib. p. 510.
- ¹ Another has been pointed out to me by a friend, in the 'stake down' of the Merchant of Venice, III. ii.

VII. GRUACH (LADY MACBETH),

BY THE COUNTESS OF CHARLEMONT.

(Read at the 21st Meeting of the Society, held January 14, 1876.)

It seems as if it would be mere repetition to say or to write more on the subject of Macbeth and his wife than has been already said and written. Their characters have been put under the microscope of criticism and handled in every possible way.

And yet there are a few remarks relative to Lady Macbeth that I do not remember having met with.

Sir Bernard Burke, in the beginning of his *Peerage*, gives an interesting account of the Royal Houses of England and Scotland. In the commencement of the latter, we find that in the eleventh century Macbeth married the Lady Gruach, granddaughter of King Kenneth IV., who had been deposed in the year 1003 by Malcolm, son of Kenneth III. This Malcolm was succeeded by his grandson Duncan, who was murdered in the year 1039 by his cousin Macbeth, who then ascended the throne of Scotland.

We may suppose that the quarrels about the succession to the throne took place between kinsmen more or less nearly related. May not there have been a relationship between Kenneth IV. and Duncan? And may not one of the strange likenesses that come and go in families, have appeared between Kenneth's son and Duncan, causing Lady Macbeth to say of the latter, "Had he not resembled my father as he slept, I had don't?" And had not hatred to the man whose grandsire had not only deposed hers—depriving her father of his throne—but had also burnt her first husband in his castle, with fifty of his friends, and slain her only brother and her second husband's (Macbeth's) father, anything to say to Duncan's fate, though

¹ Clark and Wright's Clarendon Press Edition, 1871, p. xlii.

Shakspere has not weakened her primary motive by hinting at her secondary one?

Mrs Jameson—like many others—gives Lady Macbeth credit for home affections. We learn from Gervinus, that German "Romanticists have made Lady Macbeth a heroine of virtue." Others have looked upon her and upon her husband as an ancient Mr and Mrs Manning. The question is—Was Lady Macbeth only a woman, or, very woman and devil?

There may be a meaning in our poet—of whom great Goethe says "Nature prophesied through Shakspeare"1—that would explain something of her character. Many good qualities, when carried to excess, topple over and become faults. Generosity turns into extravagance, economy into stinginess, unselfishness becomes weakness; and an affectionate disposition . . . well!... has to be wretched. Does the Tragedy of Macbeth suggest that the familiar household affections may be turned into the handmaidens of Sin? Gruach had evidently loved her father: a look on a sleeping face that reminded her of him 'shook' her 'fell purpose' and stopped her 'keen knife.' She had been a tender mother; but the essence of her being was devoted to her husband. Gervinus describes this devotion in a masterly manner. All for Macbeth; -Gruach's lorda throne won for him, and a world-ay, a heaven-well lost for her. She sees, feels, acts, but for him. Remember the age in which she lived. The letter telling of the witches and of their prophecy, seemed to her no more than the foreshadowing of Destiny. after her reading of Macbeth's letter, comes her incantation to the Powers of Evil. The die is cast. The man she loves is to be 'King hereafter;' and to the beckoning hand of Fate she blindly bows herself. The throne for Macbeth by the sacrifice of a life: so be it! She looks not beyond. Afterwards, when to secure his . personal safety, her husband flies to other crimes, her soul-rending cry is—fearing to hear the answer—"What's to be done?" parts are changed. She now is passive; Macbeth active. through the ordeal of the Coronation banquet, she bears up bravely; but, seeing the weakness of her husband, her spirit begins to fail.

Lewes's "Life of Goethe." Translation of Goethe's Oration on Shakspeare.

See the end of the fourth scene of the third act. From this on, the great guilty heart sinks till we come to the 'Sleep-Walking scene.' Then, it is my belief that the strong brain had given way under the mental tortures endured by Gruach. It seems to me that the whole of the first scene of the fifth act is a résumé of all Lady Macbeth's part in the tragedy. And who can doubt but that in that scene she believed herself to be in Hell?

We will give the *pendants*—if the expression be allowed—to several speeches of Gruach's in the previous parts of the Play.

Act I. sc. v.

. . "Come thick night,

And fall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell."

"Which shall to all our days and nights to come

Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom."

Act II. sc. ii.

... "If he do bleed." ...

"My hands are of your colour: but I shame

To wear a heart so white."

-"Go get some water,

And wash this filthy witness from your hand."

... "I hear a knocking

At the south entry: retire we to our chamber:

A little water cleans us of this deed: How easy is it then? Your constancy Hath left you unattended.—Hark!

more knocking: Get on your nightgown, lest occasion

call us, And show us to the watchers :— Be not

So poorly in your thoughts.

Act III. sc. ii.

"Things without remedy

Should be without remove: what's done, is done."

Act V. sc. i.

"Hell is murky!" . .

..." What need we care who knows it, When none can call our power to account?"

"Yet who would have thought the old man to

Have had so much blood in him?"
"What will these hands ne'er be clean?
No more o' that, my lord no more o' that: You mar all with this starting."

"Wash your hands, put on your nightgown; look not so pale."

"To bed, to bed; there's knocking at the gate: come, come, come, come."

"What's done, cannot be undone:"

How Gruach's fearful visions are haunted by Macbeth's speech (Act II. scene ii.)—

"Whence is that knocking?

How is 't with me when every noise appals me?

What hands are here! Ha! they pluck out mine eyes! Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather The multitudinous seas incarnardine, Making the green-one red."

Mrs Siddons—so says Gervinus—believed Lady Macbeth to have been a fair beauty; and I have heard that a traditional picture of her existed years ago in an ancient Scottish Castle, belonging to a descendant, it was said, of Macbeth. It was the portrait of a small fair woman, with blue eyes, rather red (weak-looking?) about the lids.

It was the great wish of Rachel the mighty to act Lady Macbeth. When told that Mrs Siddons had exhausted all ideas about the part—especially with respect to the Sleep-Walking scene—she replied, "Ah! mais j'ai une ideé moi-je lécherais ma main," Does not that make one think of Ugolino when he "La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto?" It would be interesting to inquire whether Shakspere ever read Dante—Shakspeare who harmonized so many old Italian stories in his Plays! He must have known much of Italy. Did the Inferno, and the early reminiscences of its 'perduta gente,' suggest to him the Sleep-Walking scene? We believe that Gruach, 'after life's fitful fever, 'sleeps well.' The last we hear of her is at the time of her death: "A cry within of women." She was not all evil. Her own sex and her servants mourned for her.

MR FURNIVALL. I think Lady Charlemont's suggestion of a possible family likeness between Duncan and Lady Macbeth's father an interesting one. But as to the poet's knowing that Lady Macbeth and her husband had good cause for taking vengeance on Duncan, we must recollect that Shakspere took his Macbeth story from Holinshed, the great authority for British History in his day, and that there is nothing in Holinshed about the murder of either Lady Macbeth's or Macbeth's relatives by Malcolm, Duncan's grandfather.

The notion that Lady Macbeth stirrd, nay forc't, Macbeth to his villainous murder, to gratify his ambition only, and not her own too, is so in the teeth of Shakspere's authority, Holinshed, "but speciallie his wife lay sore upon him to attempt the thing, as she that was very ambitious, burning in unquenchable desire to beare the name of queen,"—Scottish Chronicle, i. 340, ed. 1805, and is, to me, so flatly contradictory to Shakspere's plain revelation of Lady Mac-

beth's tigrish nature, and her own words,

I have given suck; and know
How tender 't is to love the babe that milks me:
I would, while it was smiling in my face,
Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,
And dash'd the brains out, had I so sworn,
As you have done to this.

Macb. If we should fail,——
Lady M. We fail.

But screw your courage to the sticking place, And we'll not fail.

Must be provided for: and you shall put
This night's great business into my dispatch;
Which shall, to all our nights and days to come,
Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom.

that I don't think the point worth arguing 1. Any one desiring to spare Lady Macbeth, as Chaucer did Creseyde, "for very routh," may make excuses for her; but to ask us to think that love for her husband was her only motive, is going too far.

- 'cankered,' adj. spiteful: John, II. 194; 1 Hen. IV., II. iii. 137. 'For, in writing of prologues, he bestowes his labour to a wrong end, who doeth not tell you the matter of the comedy, but answereth to the railing speeches of the malitious cankred [malevoli] old Poet."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 4, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).
- 'heels': lay by the heels. Hen. VIII., V. iv. 83. "Quo iure, quâque iniuriâ, me in pistrinum dabit vsque ad necem. By right or wrong, no matter how, he wil lay me by the heeles: he will lodge me in a faire paire of stocks."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 20; ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).
 - 'Inn': Take my ease in my inn. 1 Hen. IV., III. iii. 93. "but in myn In, or euer I toke my eace [orig. to my cace], to walke about, it did me best pleace."!
 - ? 1536—40. The Pilgrims Tale, l. 17, p. 77, of F. J.Furnivall's ed. of Francis Thynne's Animadversions, 1875.
- 'Teeth, in despite of the': Merry Wives, V. v. 133. "I will keepe this wench in despite of all your teethes [Ego istam inuitis omnibus]."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 277 (1st ed. 1598); "the women I bought, he hath led away from me in despite of my teeth."—ib. p. 229.
- 'Lady Charlemont writes in answer, "Of course Lady Macbeth had no objection to share the throne she helped her husband to get. As to the expression 'our nights and days,' married people usually use the first person plural."

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'shrewd turn': All's Well, III. v. 71. "Then mystresse, my master hath one shrewd turne done him more then he had."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 233, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598). "Vnlesse I deceiue my selfe, I shall goe neare to haue a shrewde turne, [haud multum à me aberit infortunium]: all the shifts that I haue are now driuen into so narrowe a straight by this thing: except I finde out some way that the olde man may not knowe that this is his sonnes loue." p. 235.

'swabber': Tw. Night, I. v. 217; Temp., II. ii. 48. "Marruffino, the yoongest prentise in a house, one that is put to all druggerie [drudgery], a swobber in a ship."—1598; Florio.

'swaggerer': 2 Hen. IV., II. iv. 81, 83, 91, 104, 105, 117. "Masnadiero, a ruffler, a swash-buckler, a swaggerer, a high way theefe, a hackster."—1598; Florio.

'tittle-tattle': Winter's Tale, IV. iv. 248.

"Faggiolata, Fagiolata, a flim-flam tale, as women tell when they shale peason, which hath neither head nor foote, nor rime nor reason; a flap with a foxe-taile: court holie water, a tittle-tattle, or such."—1598; Florio.

'whist': Tempest, I. ii. 379.

"Houische. (An Interiection whereby silence is imposed) husht, whist, ist, not a word for your life."—1611; Cotgrave.

' Wittenburg': Hamlet, I, ii. 113, 119, 164, 168.

"Out of Denmarke a man may go in to Saxsony. The chefe cyte or town of Saxsony is called *Witzeburg*, [Wittenburg,] which is a vniuersite."—1542, 1547; Andrew Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge*, p. 164; ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

'atonement,' union, reconciliation. "But now I trust from henceforth there shall be perfect attonement and love between us for ever, Thais [æternam inter nos gratiam fore, Thais]."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 174, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'baked meats': Hamlet. "Pastisserie: f. (All kind of) pies or baked meats; pasterie worke; also, the making of past-meats."—1611; Cotgrave.

'attent,' adj.: Hamlet, I. ii. 193. "Animum advertite: Marke; be ye attent; giue eare; vnderstand yee, hearken."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 4, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'chat,' sb.: L. L. Lost, IV. iii. 284. "Iuveniet orationem. He will finde you chat: he will want no words. He will diuise matter of talk. He will not be nonplus."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 41, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'conditioned': Merch. of Ven., III. ii. 295. Conveniunt mores. We be both alike conditioned: our manners be one."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 75, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

VIII. ON THE CHARACTER OF BANQUO.

BY ALGERNON FOGGO, M.A., CAMB.

(Read at the 25th Meeting of the Society, held on May 12, 1876.)

The whole of the part of Banquo might be printed on a page of moderate size; and yet within such narrow limits many features of character are not merely indicated, but strongly and clearly defined.

All these: honour, magnanimity, piety, valour, courtesy, tenderness of heart, an observant love of nature, calm judgment, and practical wisdom are the attributes of Banquo; at the same time he is no impossible monster of perfection, but pre-eminently human.

Macbeth and Banquo, generals of the armies of Duncan, king of Scotland, are, fresh from victory, leading home their troops. In friendly companionship they are passing over a wild and barren heath. They are about to encounter the three witches, the suggesters of evil, whose prophetic utterances are to amaze the mind of Macbeth, to perplex him with the riddles of fixed fate and free will, and by help of his lust of power and his wife's irresistible will to draw him on to achieve the success of an usurping tyrant, and the moral ruin of a despairing sinner.

Macbeth's first words, uttered before he has perceived the presence of the witches, give some hint of his imagination having been already newly stirred. Perturbations of the sky, more than usually impressive even in his land of cloudy hills, prompt the remark:

"So foul and fair a day I have not seen!"

Banquo's present mood of mind, though he is a keen observer of nature, contrasts at once with Macbeth's. He is entirely calm; his imaginative faculty quite at rest; and, more concerned to know the length of the road that lies before him than careful to respond to his

eompanion with his usual high-bred courtesy, he inquires: "How far is it called to Forres?" Yet his mind is on the alert: he first espies the weird sisters, and then he at once proceeds to investigate the apparition. His manner of so doing is remarkable for coolness, and a sort of penetrative sagacity at first only slightly mingled with anything of awe; and the spirit of calm investigation, which even the strange salutations of the witches have but little disturbed, fully returns to him on their disappearance. He then sets himself to examine his own and Macbeth's common condition of bewilderment:

"Were such things here as we do speak about?
Or have we eaten of the insane root
Which takes the reason prisoner?"

Indeed, though undoubtedly perplexed by the apparition, he is disposed almost to jest at the words of the prophets; while Macbeth begins to review them at first with unchecked expression of deep interest, and then with only an affectation of indifference:

"Macb. Your children shall be kings.

Ban. You shall be king.

Macb. And Thane of Cawdor too, went it not so?

Ban. To the self-same tune and words."

Banquo's calmness and self-possession do not, however, denote indifference. Far from uninterested in the prophecy of royal dignity with which Macbeth has been greeted, he conjures the sisters to foretell his future also; but here his high tone of moral calm, as well as the serenity of judgment already manifested, further contrast with the condition of Macbeth, whom the predictions of the hags have so taken possession of, that he "seems rapt withal." Banquo conjures them "in the name of truth," and "neither begs nor fears their favours nor their hate;" evincing that royalty of nature which afterwards made Macbeth's "fears in him stick deep:"

"'tis much he dares,
And to that dauntless temper of his mind,
He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour
To act in safety. There is none but he
Whose being I do fear; and under him
My genius is rebuked."

But Macbeth did him scant justice: that guiding wisdom also

prompted Banquo to resist the first suggestions of evil; and to mistrust the devil even though speaking true; for—

"oftentimes to win us to our harm, The instruments of darkness tell us truths; Win us with honest trifles, to betray us In deepest consequence."

So that we fully credit Banquo when we find him expressing to his king his own loyalty, and generously praising to him the valour of Macbeth.

"Duncan. True, worthy Banquo, he is full so valiant, And in his commendations I am fed; It is a banquet to me."

With the high moral tone of Banquo's character there is blended a tenderness of feeling and a love of nature which should be contemplated in the beautiful combination in which the poet has presented them to us. It is he who reports his observations of the habits of the house-swallow in those well-known lines:

"This guest of summer,
The temple-haunting martlet, does approve,
By his loved mansionry, that the heaven's breath
Smells wooingly here: no jutty, frieze,
Buttress, nor coign of vantage, but this bird
Hath made his pendant bed and procreant cradle.
Where they most breed and haunt, I have observed,
The air is delicate." 1

¹ I hardly know whether to attribute these observations in natural history to Banquo or to Shakspere. I can't find that other observers have noticed a propensity in the swallow to seek localities where the air is especially pure and delicate. The observation however is borne out so far by Mac Gillivray, who remarks that though they are to be found chiefly in the neighbourhood of towns, villages, and farm buildings in the more populous parts of the country, yet small colonies of them will establish themselves on the margin of the moors and wild glens of the pastoral regions, in the valleys of the upper districts of the Clyde, the Tweed, the Dee, and the Tay, where they will build on the inns and larger houses. As for their "temple haunting" propensities, the observation is as old at least as the Hebrew psalter. The populousness of the colonies that will take possession of every coign of vantage in a lordly building, whether palace or cathedral, can only be duly estimated when at the same time the birds are undisturbed, and the building is not too vast for examination. Under the eaves and in the corners of the windows of the house of the Earl of Traquair, Mac Gillivray counted in 1839 one hundred and six nests of martins all tenanted.

On a dark night he knows what time the moon went down, and when he sees no stars he says playfully:

"there's husbandry in heaven, Their candles are all out."

"There will be rain to-night," he says, his last words before the assassin's stroke which laid him low. He has become so real a character that we imagine for ourselves the thoughts that in the moment of death flash across his mind, revealing the wickedness of Macbeth, as he cries out to his young son, "Fly, good Fleance, fly, thou mayst revenge." His gentleness is conspicuous in the words, when first the murder of Duncan is disclosed:

"Dear Duff I prythee contradict thyself, And say it is not so."

His moral elevation and his piety again in his prayer against evil dreams:

"Merciful powers!
Restrain in me the cursed thoughts, that nature Gives way to in repose."

In his waking resistance to evil:

"Mach. If you shall cleave to my consent It shall make honour for you.

Ban. So I lose none
In seeking to augment it, but still keep
My bosom franchised and allegiance clear,
I shall be counselled."

How nevertheless he shares in the common lot, in the weakness as well as in the strength of human nature, is revealed by the last thoughts he gives utterance to on the subject of the witches' prophecies:

"Thou hast it now, king, Cawdor, Glamis, all,
As the weird women promised; and I fear
Thou playdst most foully for it; yet it was said
It should not stand in thy posterity,
But that myself should be the root and father
Of many kings. If there come truth from them
As upon thee Macbeth their speeches shine,
Why, by the verities on thee made good,
May they not be my oracles as well,
And set me up in hope?"

There is something sadly like complicity in crime in his only suspecting Macbeth of foul play, instead of allowing his fine judgment to convince him fully, and his will to put in action what his conscience had promptly dictated when Duncan's murder was first disclosed:

"In the great hand of God I stand; and thence Against the undivulged pretence I fight Of treasonous malice."

This is in a different strain from the words in which he accepts Macbeth's invitation to the inauguration supper:

"Lay your highness'
Command upon me, to the which my duties
Are with a most indissoluble tie
For ever knit."

And it is mournful to see that, in spite of all the efforts of his nobler nature, the victory over the suggestions of bad ambition has not been completely achieved. His over-anxiety to be assured of the future greatness of his line makes him share with the guilty Macbeth in that mockery of fate,

"Which keeps the word of promise to our ear And breaks it to our hope."

His life has been made uneasy by this promise, his murder is the consequence of it; in the very moment of death he seems to cling to the hope of its fulfilment, though his son's life is in imminent danger too, and to foresee the end of Macbeth and the elevation of Fleance to the throne as the result of the tyrant's treachery to him:

"O treachery! Fly, good Fleance, fly, fly, fly! Thou mayst revenge."

But perhaps it is most of all in virtue of this struggle which Banquo has to maintain against the powers of darkness or against the promptings of the evil lurking in his own heart, that we recognize his individuality, and admit him to claim kindred with us as a human creature. This sympathy of ours will extend likewise to that intellectual perplexity which arises out of the communication he has held with the supernatural world, and his subsequent meditations thereon; for when the understanding seeks to exercise itself upon the mysteries of what is spiritual, the troubles it encounters are inevitably troubles of the spirit also, and as such they appeal to human sympathy with a power proportionate to the greatness of the argument from which they spring.

MR FURNIVALL:—I am glad that Mr Foggo allows the strong defect in Banquo's character. He was, on one side of him, a canny Scot, and stayd at Macbeth's court to look after the chances of Irimself and his sons, in which the fulfilment of the witches' foretellings about Macbeth had made him believe. I always compare him with Macduff, whose "Sir! not I" was the answer that the noble-natured man made to Macbeth's invitation to come to his court. Macduff, too, followd up his refusal by seeking Malcolm, the right heir to Duncan's throne, in England, and helping him to win his right. Banquo would never have done this. It would have been too like spoiling his sons' chance.

'clinquant': Hen. VIII., I. i. 19. Fr. "Clinquant: m. Thinne plate-lace of Gold, or Siluer."—1611; Cotgrave.

'collied': Midsum. N.'s Dr., I. i. 145; Othello, II. iii. 206. "Charbonné. . Painted, marked, written, with a coale; collowed, smeered, blacked with coales; (hence) also, darkened.

"Charbonner . . . to collowe; to bleach, or make black, with a

coal.

"Charbonneux . . . Coalie, full of coales, all to becollowed."—1611; Cotgrave.

'convertite': As you like it, V. iv. 190. "Convers: vn con. A convertite; one that hath turned to the Faith; or is woon vnto a religious profession; or hath abandonned a loose, to follow a godlie, a vicious, to lead a vertuous, life."—1611; Cotgrave.

'fault': in the fault: 2 Hen. IV., II. ii. 29. "Per me stetit, I was in the fault that it went not forward."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 75, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'fig': Hen. V., III. vi. 62. "Indormire... to bid a fig, or a turd for one, not to care for one. Fica, a figge ... Also, a flurt 2 with ones fingers given in disgrace; fare la fica, to bid a figge for one."—1598; Florio.

Lennox. Sent he to Macduff? Lord. He did; and, with an absolute 'Sir, not I', The cloudy messenger turns me his back, And hums, as who should say, 'You'll rue the time That clogs me with this answer.'—III. v. 40.

² Chiquenaude: f. A fillip; flirt, or bob given with the finger, or nayle. Chiquenauder. To fillip; to flirt, or bob, with the finger.—1611; Cotgrave.

'flirt-gills': Rom. & Jul., II. iv. 162 (see fig). Cp. "Fania, a mincing, coie, nice, puling, squeamish woman, an idle huswife, a flurt, a gigxi. Faniare, to mince it, to pule, to be squeamish, to play the idle huswife. Pedrolina, a strumpet, a harlot, a trull, a minion, a flurt, a minx."—1598; Florio.

'a fool's paradise': Rom. & Jul., II. iv. 175. "His purpose was to have vs brought vnderhand into a fooles paradise [duci falso gaudia], to the end that . . we should suddainly be taken napping, in such sort, as wee might not have time to bethinke vs how to prevent the marriage. A suttle foxe, I warrant him."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 15, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

Nos opinantes ducimur falso gaudio. "He makes vs beleeue the moone is made of a greene cheese. Hee brings vs silly ones,

into a fooles paradise."—Ib. p. 17.

"O Syrus, for Gods sake bring me not into a fooles paradise

[ne me in lætitiam frustrà coniicias]."—Ib. p. 212.

'foyne': Lear, IV. vi. 251; 2 Hen. IV., II. i. 17. "Stoccata, a foyne, a thrust, a stoccado giuen in fence. Stoccheggiare, to strike with a short sword, a tuck, or a truncheon, to foyne or thrust at, to giue a stoccado. . Stocco, a truncheon, a tuck, a short sword, an arming sword."—1598; Florio.

'gall'd jade wince': Hamlet, III, ii. 253.

"A galled horse, the sooth if ye list se, who toucheth him, boweth his back for dred; And who is knowe vntrue in his countrye, shrinketh his hornes whan men speke of falsheed."

ab. 1430; Lydgate's Fall of Princes; black letter (no date, but about 1550), leaf xxxvii, back,

"It is a lie (quoth he), and thou a lyer,

Will ye (quoth she) dryve me to touch thee nyer? I drub the gald hors backe till he winche, & yit

He would make it seeme, that I touch him no whit."

"Galled horses winch, and I must gall him still."

Braithwaite's Natures Embassy (1621), p. 57.

'harlotry' (harlot): Oth., IV. iv. 239. "Is my sonne any thing grieued at this marriage, in respect of the loue and familiaritie betwixt him and this strange harlotrie."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 45, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'kam': clean kam. Coriol., III. i. 304. "Brider son cheval par la queuë. To goe the wrong way to worke; or, to do a thing cleane kamme."—1611; Cotgrave.

'swaggerer': 2 Hen. IV., II. iv. 81, 83, 91, 104, 105, 117. "Charette. f. A Chariot; a Wagon... Mangeur de charrettes ferrées. A terrible cutter, swaggerer, bugbeare, swash-buckler; one that will kill all he sees, and eat all he kils."—Cotgrave.

IX.

ON SHAKSPERE'S USE OF NARRATION 1 IN HIS DRAMAS.

BY PROFESSOR N. DELIUS.

PART I.

(Promist for, and taken as read at, the 24th Meeting of the Society, Friday, April 28, 1876.²)

Although in this paper I intend to treat of the narrative or epic elements in Shakspere's dramas, I am aware that my German title does not describe my theme with sufficient accuracy. In any case, the want of a better-chosen name, of a more exact description, lays me open at once to a misconception. For, to endeavour to point out narrative or epic elements in the works of the poet, who is considered by all the world in the highest sense dramatic, looks at first like a rash attempt to deny the genuine dramatic character of these works, and to accuse the author himself of unduly mixing two sorts of poetry—the dramatic and the epic. This however is far from being my intention. On the contrary, I hope to prove that the apparent residuum of epic poetry which we find in Shakspere's dramas, is a necessary ingredient of his dramatic poetry.

I consider as epic elements in Shakspere's dramas, all those passages in which the poet, through the mouth of a character, merely narrates or describes what might have been scenically represented to the audience. The causes which lead the poet thus to describe instead of dramatize, are as various as his procedure, and were no less determined by the nature of the stage properties in his days, and the

Describing incidents, &c.

² This Paper is englisht from Prof. Delius's German one, on 'The Epic Elements in Shakspere's Dramas,' read at the annual meeting of the *Deutsche Shakspere Gesellschaft*, on the 8th of May 1876. For the englishing, the Society is indebted to Miss Eva Gordon, of Pixholme, near Dorking.—F.

necessities of the theatre, than by the artistic plan and performance from the poet's point of view. Generally however, and without regard to the modifications in particulars hereafter to be specified, we may make the following classes of Shaksperian epics in our poet's dramas.

First: previous occurrences are narrated by the characters of the play, so far as an account seemed to the poet necessary to a comprehension of the dramatic action then beginning. And each is narrated, because it took place too long before the commencement of the drama to be conveniently incorporated dramatically with it. Or else the previous occurrences are narrated because their actions and characters are only partially and loosely connected with the actions and characters of the real play. In either case our poet makes a more sparing use of this means of narration than many of his dramatic predecessors and contemporaries; while, on the other hand, the greater freedom of movement enjoyed on the English stage over many others, never compelled him, at the cost of the dramatic unity of his play, to drag epic by-play into his dramas.

II. Another epic element which we encounter in Shakspere's dramas may be described as the episodic, so far that it is not (like the narration of previous history) incorporated in the scenes, but is found distributed here and there through the whole play. The employment of this episodic element is particularly to be referred to two artistic motives: first, to a practical consideration of the scanty resources of the English theatre in Shakspere's time, which offered little to the eyes of the spectators beyond the sight of the actors on the stage, bare of all scenery and other apparatus. (All the pomp and decoration produced by our scene-painters and machinists, in such various forms, as a necessary indispensable part,—we may say as a comprehensible representation of the dramatic action,—was wanting, and had to be supplied by the imagination of the English public, from the poem which minutely described all that it was necessary to know.)

Secondly, to the poet's dramatic instinct, which led him to clear out of the way of his climax,—or the progress of his play,—by narration, everything which hinderd or weakend the effect he wanted to produce.

In the Shaksperian plays, then, this descriptive element, which can only be called epic in a wider sense, is frequently connected with the real epic element of a narration, which saves to the poet a whole scene, necessary, but a hindrance, to the swift advance of the drama, and gives to the audience a welcome view over most of the events past and to come.

I will now attempt, according to the theory of the Shaksperian dramaturgy which I have here laid down, to collect examples of this practice from the works of our poet. Naturally, owing to my limited space, I can only consider a selection of these, from a selection of the principal dramas, as well as a selection of examples from these dramas. And we must observe this moderation in every individual play under our consideration, in order to pick out entire characteristic classes of epic elements.

We will begin with a few dramas from Shakspere's middle period, which embraces the highest point of his art: and first we will take the Merchant of Venice. The poet narrates the previous history of this drama shortly but sufficiently in the two first scenes: Bassanio's previous courtship of the rich heiress of Belmont, and the strange conditions to which Portia's wooers were subjected by her father's will. By the humorous satirical speeches in which Portia describes her wooers to her confidant Nerissa, the poet spares himself the necessity for a whole series of scenes in which they would have chosen the terrible caskets amiss. It suffices to present the Prince of Morocco and the Prince of Arragon, one after another, in the fatal situation of a wrong choice and unfortunate suit. In the second act the poet narrates two events instead of dramatizing them: Shylock's despair and rage when he learns at once the theft of his daughter and his ducats, and traverses Venice pursued by the noisy mirth of all the boys in the street. In sharp contrast to this event-which would perhaps be too scurrilous, if dramatized, for a fine taste, and might weaken Shylock's later appearance—we have in the same scene a simple touching account, by an eye witness, of the parting between Bassanio and Antonio, which, scenically represented, would have required further development, and would have hindered the swift progress of the play.

In the *Midsummer's Night's Dream*¹, the narration of previous action relates chiefly to the quarrel between Oberon and Titania, and its consequences, so disastrous for nature and mankind. Shakspere places the history of this disagreement in the mouths of the Queen of the Fairies and her husband themselves, as just before the roguish Puck has boasted of his own mischievous tricks, to explain his character, and to prepare the public for the tricks in which he indulges in the course of the play.

A third descriptive or epic element in the same second act of our play is Oberon's account of the flower, the juice of which, when sprinkled on the eyes of the lovers, was to produce such mistakes and trouble. Whatever meaning we may attribute to this much-commentated-on passage, this much is certain: a scenical representation of the event would not have been suitable to the limited stage capabilities of the time; but in consideration of its consequences so important to the development of the action, it was necessary to represent this event to the spiritual eyes of the spectator by a close and picturesque description. And in this our poet has been entirely successful. The audience, while they heard in the theatre Oberon's words, saw Oberon himself sitting in the scene which he described. They saw, with Oberon's eyes, Cupid's all-powerful arrow glance off from the enthroned vestal of the west, and wound the little flower which before was white, now purpled by love's wound. They saw how, in contrast to the invulnerable chastity of that vestal, a siren charmed the rude sea with her deceitful song, and enticed with it the stars from their spheres.

In the Taming of the Shrew we have two forcible descriptions, so true to life, so vivid, that it seems as if we saw them acted before us: Petruchio's studied carelessness of attire as he came to his wedding, and his exceeding unceremoniousness at the ceremony. But the horse afflicted with every known disease is, in Shakspere's detailed description, perhaps better and more æsthetic than if he had really been brought upon the stage, even if the boards of those days would

¹ Prof. Delius dates this play 1595, and puts it between the *Merchant*, 1595, and *King John*, 1596. I date it 1590-1, and hold it a First-Period play; the *Merchant*, 1596, a Second-Period play.—F.

have supported such a four-footed actor. And Petruchio's indecent behaviour at the altar, his curses and his ill-treatment of the priest and the clerk, if actually played before the public, would hardly have had the purely comic effect which is produced by Gremio's naïve account of them.

The drama of As you like it is richer in narrative elements than the Taming of the Shrew. First, we have in the explanatory scene a description of the domestic relations of the three brothers, which is necessary for the information of the audience, and yet is not susceptible of scenical representation. That in the next scene the poet is contented with describing the conflict of Charles the Wrestler with the three sons of an old man through the mouth of a courtier, instead of giving us the actual fight with its fatal issue, seems, in consequence of this very issue, to be æsthetically correct. The poet thought with the fool Touchstone, who says at this juncture: "It is the first time I heard breaking of ribs was sport for ladies." In the second act, the description of the melancholy Jaques, how he moralized over the wounded stag, must necessarily precede the actual appearance of the misanthropical humorist, in order to make the character of Jaques—who has nothing to do further with the dramatic action, and who is evidently a favourite of Shakspere's—at once comprehensible and interesting to the audience. But the actual wounded stag would apparently have been as difficult to bring upon Shakspere's stage as, in the fourth act, the lioness and the snake which threaten the life of the sleeping Oliver, and are put to flight by Orlando. The meeting of the two hostile brothers in the Forest of Arden, and the consequent reconciliation, our poet describes more effectively in Oliver's detailed account to Rosalind and Celia, than he could have done in actual representation before the eyes of the public. There is another reason for the following and last epic element of this drama. At the conclusion, the third brother of Oliver and Orlando appears with the news that the usurper, when on the march against the banished duke, his brother, had been converted by a hermit, and persuaded to abdicate his usurped authority. A scene in which this astonishing conversion should be represented with the necessary motives, would have spoiled the previous happy conclusion of the drama, by

the introduction of a new disturbing element. Such a scene, by the way, would hardly have been suitable to Shakspere's dramatic genius, for he almost always prefers lightly sketching-in the concluding events of his plays, to painting them fully.

In the Merry Wives of Windsor there is but one narrative element to point out,—Falstaff's account of his sufferings: how he was packed in Mistress Ford's basket of foul linen, and, stewing in grease and confinement, was carried away by the unsuspecting servants, and shaken out into the cold Thames. At first we are almost inclined to regret that Shakspere's stage did not permit him to represent this forcible scene before the eyes of the public, instead of simply narrating it; but the most careful representation, with the suffering Falstaff for centre, would not have attained that high degree of comedy which Falstaff's vivid description of his experience, with all the shuddering reminiscences of his martyrdom, must produce upon susceptible minds, to say nothing of the impression which the approach of the husband of Mistress Ford to his place of concealment makes on Falstaff and on his intended cuckold.

When we pass now from the plays of Shakspere's middle period which we have hitherto been considering, to those of his later dramatic activity, we see that already the choice of adequate material limited the dramatic action, and compelled our poet to avail himself to a still greater extent of narration.

This is the case in the Winter's Tale, among others. The previous history of the two kings, their early friendship founded on their joint education, which was so roughly to be disturbed by causeless jealousy, is shortly but sufficiently recounted in the explanatory scene between two Court Lords. The majestic pomp of the Delphie Oracle, in the description of which, according to some commentators, our poet describes the Catholic High Mass, could hardly have been as vividly presented to the public by the scanty resources of the theatre as it is by the dialogue between the returning ambassadors of the Sicilian king. The destruction of Antigonus and his companions is narrated too, not represented, it being beyond the powers of the theatre of that day to show how he was slain by a bear and then drowned in a shipwreck. It is as well shown in the naïve narration

of the clown as it would be by the most complete machinery of the modern stage. The case is different towards the end of the drama, in the scene of the re-encounter and reconciliation of the two royal friends so long parted by hateful mistakes, and in the scene in which the shepherdess Perdita is acknowledged to be the king's daughter. If our poet is contented to describe these events with all their moving details, through the mouth of an eye witness, instead of bringing them vividly before us, we must attribute it to some inward motive, and not, as in the before-mentioned scenes, to the scanty resources of his stage. But these reconciliations come immediately before that most important scene, which, with the reappearance of Hermione and the movement of her supposed image, crowns the whole drama; and if both events were scenically represented, the former might easily have essentially weakened the effect of the latter.

In two plays of Shakspere's last period, very extensive and complicated events have to be narrated in the explanatory scenes, for the comprehension of the dramatic action, namely, in the Tempest and Cymbeline. The previous history of the former, which treats of the fate of Prospero, his deposition from the throne of Milan, and his magic power in the island, is fitly told by him to his daughter Miranda at the moment when a storm and shipwreck caused by his own power deliver his enemies into his hands. The more complicated history of Cymbeline is less intimately connected with the drama. There, in the explanatory scene and in the dialogue between the two courtiers, the audience are put in possession of a whole skein of threads of the artistic web which is spun in the course of the drama: namely, the second marriage of the king Cymbeline, which has shortly before been consummated, the queen's intrigue to marry her son to her husband's daughter, who however has meanwhile married Posthumus; the origin of this Posthumus and his present banishment; lastly, the story of the king's two sons who were stolen in their infancy. If Shakspere had dramatized all these antecedents of his play he would have doubled its length, but hardly have made it more interesting or artistic. Also in the concluding scene of Cymbeline, so rich in discoveries and reconciliations, all these effective details could only be arranged and brought in, on condition of every-

thing else in it being treated epically: as, for instance, the account of the heroic deeds of Belarius and his royal foster-sons; the account of the death of the queen, and of the Roman battle.

The plays which we have previously considered are all included in the oldest edition in the category of Comedies; while in the same edition Cymbeline is placed among the Tragedies, and leads by a gradual transition to those dramas of our poet which, in my opinion, better deserve the name of tragedies than Cymbeline. In these socalled great tragedies we meet with the epic element unequally distributed, now stronger, now weaker, according as the poet's dramatic material seems to need the assistance of this artifice or not. This assistance is least needed in Shakspere's most uniform1 tragedies, in Othello and Macbeth. In Othello there are really only two portions of previous history related instead of acted in the explanatory scenes, Iago's account of the unjust and wounding loss of promotion which he had suffered from Othello; and Othello's account of his courtship of Desdemona. Neither, however, is a single event, but rather an accumulation of events which are closely connected in the narration and lead up to great dramatic effects, but are hardly themselves susceptible of dramatization. Or might we presume that the poet would have produced a greater dramatic effect, if he had introduced the Moor as Brabantio's guest, relating his stirring adventures of war and travel, and lastly, openly demanding the hand of Desdemona? The effect produced on the Venetian Senate, in Council, as on the Shaksperian public in the theatre, must have been much greater from Othello's account of the romantic course of his courtship in his own justification than from any acting.

The poet has made just as sparing a use of the narrative element in his Macbeth. He allows the wounded soldiers to tell of Macbeth's bravery in battle with the rebels and the Norwegians. A dramatic representation of this battle-scene itself, if it had been feasible, would have injured the dramatic effect of the single combats, which determine the catastrophe of the piece. It appears more significant that the murder of Duncan and his two grooms is only recounted, not represented. The poet determined not to show these bloody deeds

i einheitlich = unmixed with collateral matter.

themselves, but to mirror them, on the one hand, in the doers, and, on the other, in the victims, and in this double reflection of the murder to make the required impression on the public.

As our poet gives freer play to the lyric element in his youthful tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* than he would perhaps have done when his art was more mature; so also is it richer in the epic element than he would probably have thought fitting to make it when at the height of his dramatic power.

The poet may have had good dramatic reasons for Romeo's vain enthusiasm of love for the fair Rosaline being mentioned only in his conversation with his friend, and never introducing us to the object of his passion. This belongs to the previous history of the drama. The case is different with other epic passages in which the audience merely have that recounted to them which has just been scenically represented to them, or is just going to be. For example, in the third act, Benvolio's account of the bloody action, in which the public had just seen Mercutio and Tybalt fall; further, in the fourth act, the monk's detailed description of the effect of his sleeping draught; of Juliet's apparent death and burial. Lastly, at the end of the drama the long recapitulation of all the previous events by the monk.

These are superfluities which the maturer genius of Shakspere would have avoided. Perhaps he would also have omitted Mercutio's fantastic humorous account of Queen Mab, which has no visible connection with the drama, however graceful a genre picture it is, considered merely as an accessory. There is nothing accessory, on the other hand, in the description of the poor apothecary's shop in Mantua, the sight of which suggests to Romeo the possibility of buying there the necessary poison. Shakspere's stage could well have produced the image of the famished apothecary, but not the poor wretch's shop, with its various and worthless contents.

King Lear admits of much epic treatment, not only on account of the rich material required by the subject, but also on account of the swiftness of the dramatic action. The previous history, in which, extending through the whole drama, is contained in miniature the family relations of Lear and Gloster, is indicated in the explanatory scene between Kent and Gloster. The long list of grievances between

Lear's knights and Goneril's household, which, gradually extending, at last caused the final rupture between father and daughter, could not well have been scenically represented, but must be gathered from the words of the offended parties. Again, dramatic material for at least a whole act is compressed into an explanatory scene at the beginning of the third act, in Kent's conversation with a gentleman. In this we are informed of Lear's first attack of madness; of the division between his two sons-in-law, Albany and Cornwall; of the French preparations for an attack on England. With the same object the poet has introduced a second explanatory scene into the fourth act, another conversation between Kent and the same gentle-In this the story of the latter does away with the necessity for several scenes which would else have been requisite for the plot, viz, a scene to account for the King of France's sudden return to his own land, and his disappearance from the further course of the drama; a scene in which Cordelia should learn the heartrending news of her beloved father's sorrows, and the crimes of her unnatural sisters; a scene to show us Lear in a new phase of his madness.

The epic element is quite different in Edgar's masterly description of the cliff at Dover, with which he deceives his blind father. Shakspere's public, this and similar detailed word-pictures, which we moderns could easily spare from our own drama, had another and deeper significance. They brought before their hearers' minds-eye and fancy those images which the deficient stage scenery of the time could not offer to their bodily eyes. So also, to give a few examples from Shakspere's historial dramas: in King Richard II., Polingbroke's solemn entry into London; in King Henry V., the English camp the evening before the decisive battle in France, described in all their characteristic details, only not acted. So in Coriolanus, the Triumph of Marcius through the streets of Rome; in Antony and Cleopatra, the first meeting between the Egyptian Queen and the Roman Triumvir on the river Cydnus, described in the most glowing colours, but not represented—all scenes in the visible representation of which modern decorative art and scenic arrangements would put forth all their power, and spare the poet the trouble of making a minute description.

But, to return to King Lear after this digression, we have to

observe finally one more epic element. The poet spares us the sight of Gloster dying of a broken heart, and we learn it only from Edgar's touching narration. So also the poet gives us a short account of Cordelia's hanging herself in prison, but does not represent it on the stage. The attention of the public is throughout concentrated on old Lear himself, and is not disturbed and diverted by the sight of the troubles of others.

In Hamlet the previous history is not, as in many others, narrated in one explanatory scene. Rather, it extends, artistically worked-in, through the whole first act of the tragedy, according to the part played by each person in each event of this complication of Hamlet's father figures in Horatio's speech as a victorious hero and conqueror of Norway and Poland, at the first appearance of the ghost. He figures as a victim to his brother's murderous plots towards the conclusion of the first act, in the ghost's own account to his son at his second appearance. Then in the court assembly are mentioned the hostilities caused by the young Fortinbras of Norway, which are to be diplomatically allayed by the embassage sent to the new King of Denmark. It was in the poet's interest to bring the fiery and ambitious young Fortinbras, whom he had at first intended to introduce personally later on before the public, at once in powerful contrast to the irresolute, scrupulous Hamlet. Hamlet's love for Ophelia is not represented before us; we learn of it only in the warnings of Polonius and Laertes; and even Hamlet's first meeting with the beloved one in his assumed madness, which perhaps another dramatist would have worked up into an effective scene, our poet only describes in the nerveless account of the terrified Ophelia. As Shakspere found occasion enough later on to show his hero in many phases of his madness, he only intended in this first instance to prepare his public for the coming change. For the progress of his dramatic action he lays the greatest weight, not on the re-encounter of the two lovers under such different circumstances, but on the different interpretations which Polonius, on the one hand, and the royal pair, on the other, give to Hamlet's strangest behaviour. If we pursue the epic element further through the course of our tragedy, it strikes us that this epic element is occasionally not in accordance with the corresponding dramatic element. At the conclusion of the

first act, for example, we see Hamlet firmly resolved to impart to no one, not even to his friend Horatio, what the ghost had confided to him alone. In the third act, however, on the occasion of the play performed by the strolling players, we learn from Hamlet's mouth that meanwhile he had acquainted Horatio with all the circumstances of his father's murder. We miss a scene in which Hamlet would have been obliged to explain and account for his change of mind on this point. Further, in the fourth act, King Claudius tells Laertes of the visit of the Norman-French Lamound to the Danish Court, how he had praised Laertes' skill in fence, and thereby had aroused Hamlet's jealousy, and made him desirous of measuring himself against Laertes. If we look back now on the previous course of the drama, from Laertes' departure from France to his sudden return thence, and if we observe Hamlet's behaviour during all this time, we find no moment at which this praise of Laertes' skill could possibly make the slightest impression on Hamlet's mind. The two last epic elements of the tragedy are the queen's account of the death of Ophelia, and Hamlet's own narration of his voyage, to Horatio. In both cases the then condition of the stage rendered any scenical representation impossible. What in the modern French opera, supported by all imaginable art of theatrical machinery and painting, might be an attractive and gratifying task for the manager, was impossible on Shakspere's stage. But perhaps the poet's vivid description of Ophelia going to her watery death singing, and crowned with flowers, fearless and careless, made a deeper and more touching impression on his public than all modern operatic art could make on us at present.

Shakspere's historical plays, however, are richer in narrative or epic elements than any other of his dramas, the English as well as the Roman. In both, the poet took such copious material from his authorities, Holinshed's *Chronicle* and Plutarch's *Lives*, that it would have been impossible to dramatize it all without having frequent recourse to epic narration.

But to pursue this branch of our subject would be to over-pass the limits of the hour, during which I have already trespassed too tar upon your kind attention.

X.

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SECOND AND THIRD PARTS OF HENRY VI, AND THEIR ORIGINALS.

BY MISS JANE LEE.

Read at the 27th Meeting of the New Shakspere Society, Friday, Oct. 13, 1876.

Introduction.

I. The Contention and True Tragedy are plays of an earlier date than 2 and 3 Henry VI, and by writers earlier than Shakspere, and are not imperfect reports of 2 and 3 Henry VI, p. 220.

a. Internal evidence:

- 1. Versification and general metrical arrangement, p. 222.
- Particulars in Contention and True Tragedy, not in 2 and 3 Henry VI, p. 224.

3. Identical lines in passages widely differing, p. 225.

 Fine passages in Henry VI left out of Contention and True Tragedy, p. 226.

5. Necessary passages ditto, p. 228.

b. External evidence:

- 6. Greene's "Tyger's heart wrapt in a Player's hide," p. 230.
- II. No part of the Contention and True Tragedy was Shakspere's, p. 231.

a. External evidence, p. 232.

b. Internal evidence, p. 233.

The "Anjou and Maine" speech not like Biron's in Love's Labours Lost, p. 234.

II. The Contention and True Tragedy were by Marlowe and Greene, p. 236. a. External evidence, p. 236. Answer to Mr Grant White's argument, p. 237.

b. Internal evidence:

1. Absence of rime, p. 241.

- Grammatical structure, p. 241.
 Resemblances of verbal ex
 - pression, p. 243.
- 4. Resemblances of thought, p. 245.
- 5. Lines copied or reproduced in (or from) Marlowe and Greene, p. 246.
- Phrases, names, and proverbs in Greene, also in Contention and True Tragedy, p. 249.
- c. What parts of the Contention and True Tragedy did Greene and Marlowe respectively write? p. 251.

d. Peele had possibly a share in the plays, p. 257.

- e. Comments on Mr Ward's conclusion against Greene's share in the plays, p. 261.
- IV. It was Shakspere who altered the Contention and True Tragedy into 2 and 3 Henry VI, probably helped by Marlowe, p. 263.
- V. Summary of former opinions on the authorship of the plays, p. 275.

MANY questions are summed up in the one question: "Who rrote the Henry VI plays?" We have to decide not only whether hakspere was their author, but also whether he worked single-

handed, or with fellow-workers?—when the plays were written?—whether they are original, or founded on certain older plays?—and, if this be so, who was the author, or who were the authors of those older plays, as well as at what time were they written?

The earliest known copies of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, appear in the first Folio (1623) of Shakspere's works; but we have Quartos of two plays—the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*—which are either imperfect transcripts of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, or else plays of an earlier date out of which these latter were constructed.

The first part of the *Henry VI* plays does not stand on the same footing as the two latter parts. We possess no early sketch, or imperfect transcript of it (if such ever existed); and whilst it is abundantly evident that Parts 2 and 3 were written by the same men, it is by no means so evident that they were written by the same men as composed Part 1. The first Part of *Henry VI*, therefore, cannot be considered in connection with the second and third Parts.

I. In entering on the question of the authorship of Parts 2 and 3 I think our first point should be to decide whether they are copies - enlarged and improved - of the Contention and True Tragedy; or whether they are themselves original works of which the Contention and True Tragedy are imperfect transcripts. The last of the writers who have maintained this view is Mr Fleay, in an interesting paper in Macmillan's Magazine for Nov. 1875. His reasons for holding this opinion are as follows: 1st, he finds, in the Contention and True Tragedy words omitted which are needful to the sense; 2nd, words misplaced; 3rd, wrong metrical arrangement; 4th, gaps filled up with inferior matter. The first three reasons do not, I think, prove much either way. Every editor of our early plays tells the same tale: he finds only too often words omitted, words misplaced, and the metre wrongly arranged. It is because of these very omissions, displacements, and misarrangements that we are still perplexed as to the sense of many passages in our old dramatists. The 4th reason presents the divergence of opinion in the clearest light. Mr Fleay argues: 'Here we have gaps filled up with inferior matter, and this is to me a proof that the Contention and True Tragedy are imperfect copies of Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3.

Those who differ from Mr Fleay say: 'Here is inferior matter; but it is to us one among many proofs that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are older and weaker plays. This inferior matter was weighed in the balance and found wanting by that later writer or those later writers who constructed out of them the fuller and more sustained dramas which we know as *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3.'

On this disputed question I am on the side of those who hold that the Contention and True Tragedy are the older plays. I will give my reasons presently for thinking this; but lest it should seem to some that I linger unnecessarily over the question, let me say that I do so because I myself hesitated long, and because it was not until I had gone patiently through the arguments which I have here brought together, that I convinced myself that the Contention and True Tragedy are older plays on which Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, are founded. And here I must not omit to mention one circumstance which tells against the conclusion I have arrived at. It is this: that the edition of 1619 of the Contention and True Tragedy which professes to be "newly corrected and enlarged," and which is published with the name of "William Shakespeare," is much more like Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, than are the earlier Quartos. Those who believe the Contention and True Tragedy to be imperfect, dishonestly gotten copies of Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, naturally think that this circumstance adds strength to their conclusion. And yet it proves nothing. For the publisher [T. P., the pirate T. Pavier1] might have procured copies or players' parts of Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, and by comparing the Contention and True Tragedy with them, might have corrected historical blunders, and otherwise improved the old plays.

As the external evidence with regard to the priority of the plays is closely connected with the question of their authorship, I propose first to bring together the internal evidence, and to defer for the moment all reference to external evidence. I may here observe, once

¹ He published or printed the 2nd and 3rd spurious and imperfect Quartos of *Henry V*, of which the like original, QI, must have been obtained by surreptitious means, from the players, or notes, or both.

for all, that I am indebted for much of what follows under this head, to the notes of Malone 1.

a. 1. The first consideration which leads to the belief that the Contention and True Tragedy are older plays than Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, is the nature of their versification and general metrical arrangement. This resembles the versification of the dramatists anterior to Shakspere's time far more than that of Shakspere and his immediate contemporaries. The general want of regularity and equality—the monotonous sing-song rhythm of some scenes, the irregular and careless metre of others—which characterized the versification of our earlier dramatic writers, is in great measure characteristic of the versification of the Contention and True Tragedy. Such plays as Locrine, and The Famous Victories, and some parts of the True Tragedy of Richard III will afford examples of what I mean. Now, in the Henry VI plays, though there is much that is monotonous and tame, yet the many careless, meagre, and irregular lines which disfigure the Contention and True Tragedy are absent; so that the want of balance and equality in the various passages and scenes never jars on our ears. And thus there is fair ground for concluding that Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, belong to a later time than the Contention and True Tragedy. One can hardly suppose that any possible transcriber of the Henry VI plays could have, as it were, mentally dropped back into the metrical style of an earlier period of dramatic poetry.

Here is an example, chosen almost at random, which will serve to illustrate what these metrical differences are:

"York. Now, York, bethink thyself and rouse thee up,
Take time whilst it is offered thee so fair,
Lest when thou wouldst, thou canst it not attain,
'Twas men I lacked, and now they give them me,
And now whilst I am busy in Ireland,
I have seduced a headstrong Kentishman,
John Cade of Ashford,
Under the title of John Mortimer
To raise commotion, and by that means
I shall perceive how the common people

¹ I have myself found Malone to be in more than one instance inaccurate; but in every such instance quoted from him I have corrected the inaccuracy.

Do affect the claim and house of York.
Then if he have success in his affairs,
From Ireland then comes York again,
To reap the harvest which that coystrill sowed.
Now if he should be taken and condemned,
He'll ne'er confess that I did set him on,
And therefore ere I go, I'll send him word
To put in practice and to gather head,
That so soon as I am gone, he may begin
To rise in arms with troops of country swains
To help him to perform this enterprise.
And then Duke Humphrey, he well made away,
None then can stop the light to England's crown,
But York can tame and headlong pull them down."

Contention, sc. ix. 169, Camb. Sh., and Shak. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 38, l. 14.

And in Henry VI, Part 2:-

"York. Now, York, or never, steel thy fearful thoughts. And change misdoubt to resolution: Be what thou hopest to be, or what thou art Resign to death; it is not worth the enjoying: Let pale-faced fear keep with the mean-born man, And find no harbour in a royal heart. Faster than spring-time showers, comes thought on thought: And not a thought but thinks on dignity. My brain more busy than the labouring spider, Weaves tedious snares to trap my enemies. Well, nobles, well; 'tis politicly done To send me packing with a host of men. I fear me you but warm the starved snake, Who, cherished in your breasts, will sting your hearts. 'Twas men I lack'd, and you will give them me; I take it kindly, yet, be well assured, You put sharp weapons in a madman's hands. Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mighty band, I will stir up in England some black storm, Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell: And this fell tempest shall not cease to rage, Until the golden circuit on my head, Like to the glorious sun's transparent beams, Do calm the fury of this mad bred flaw: And for a minister of my intent, I have seduced a head-strong Kentishman, John Cade of Ashford, To make commotion, as full well he can, Under the title of John Mortimer.

In Ireland have I seen this stubborn Cade Oppose himself against a troop of kernes; And fight so long till that his thighs with darts Were almost like a sharp-quilled porcupine: And, in the end being rescued, I have seen him Caper upright like a wild Morisco Shaking the bloody darts, as he his bells.

By this I shall perceive the commons' mind How they affect the house and claim of York. Say he be taken, racked, and tortured, I know, no pain they can inflict upon him, Will make him say—I moved him to these arms. Say that he thrive, (as 'tis great like he will) Why, then from Ireland come I with my strength, And reap the harvest which that rascal sowed: For Humphrey being dead, as he shall be, And Henry put apart, the next for me."

2 Henry VI, III. i. 331.1

I find it hard not to assign this passage of the Contention to an earlier period than the corresponding passage in Henry VI, Part 2. It seems to me to be as clear that it belongs to an earlier stage in the progress of dramatic poetry, as to a geologist it is clear that the stratum which exhibits the simpler forms of creation belongs to an earlier stage of our earth's growth than that which teems with higher orders of organic life.

a. 2. Several particulars are related in the Contention and True Tragedy of which there is no mention made in Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3. It is reasonable to suppose that the author of Henry VI might have rejected these particulars as superfluous or trivial: but it is scarcely probable that any copyist would have invented and inserted them. For example: the judgment passed on the Duchess of Gloster

¹ To the same effect are the following instances:

Speech of Sir John Hume—2 Henry VI, I. ii. 87. Cont. ii. 68, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 11, l. 5.

Queen's speech—2 Henry VI, I. iii. 40. Cont. iii. 44, Camb. Sh., and Reprints, p. 13, l. 6.

Clifford's speech—2 Henry VI, IV. viii. 10. Cont. xviii. 87, and Reprints, p. 60, 1. 13.

Richard's speech—3 Henry VI, II. iii. 14. True Tragedy, vi. 15, and Reprints, p. 145, 1. 8.

Edward's speech-3 Henry VI, IV. i. 130. True Tragedy, xii. 95, and Reprints, p. 166, 1, 31.

is materially different in the Contention and in Henry VI, Part 2. In the former it is said: "thou shalt two days in London do penance bare-foot in the streets, with a white sheet about thy body, and a wax taper burning in thy hand." In Henry VI, Part 2, all details are omitted, and she is merely told that she shall do open penance for three days.

In scene xxi. of the *Contention* (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 65), the king describes minutely the appearance of Jack Cade; but in *Henry VI*, Part 2, there is no such description.

Toward the close of the *Contention*, after the battle of St Albans, Clifford is carrying away the body of his father, when he is interrupted by the entrance of York's son, Richard. Clifford lays down the body, fights with Richard, and sends him flying from the field, while he speaks these words:

"Out, Crook-back villain, get thee from my sight!
But I will after thee, and once again,
When I have borne my father to his tent,
I'll try my fortune better with thee yet."

Contention, xxiii. 58, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 70, 1.23.

In the corresponding scene of *Henry VI*, Part 2, Richard is not introduced at all.

Once more, in the *True Tragedy*, Richard gives an account of the death of Warwick's father (Salisbury), while in the corresponding lines of 3 *Henry VI* he makes no mention of Salisbury, but describes instead the death of Warwick's brother. The two descriptions differ in every circumstance (cf. *True Tragedy*, vi. 15, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 145, l. 8, with 3 *Henry VI*, II. iii. 14)¹.

a. 3. It is noticeable that in the midst of scenes where there are

¹ Mr Kenny (see his 'Life and Genius of Shakespeare'), who holds that the Contention and True Tragedy are copies of Henry VI, surreptitiously obtained, and made up partly from memory, partly from notes, when arguing against Malone's line of reasoning, observes that: "since Malone's time the first edition of Hamlet, which was manifestly a mutilated and an imperfect copy, has been discovered; and in it.... there is one scene between the Queen and Horatio of which no trace whatever exists in the more perfect edition." p. 294. This would undoubtedly be an argument against the conclusion which Malone draws from the presence in the Contention and True Tragedy of new matter. But is the first Quarto of Hamlet "manifestly a mutilated and imperfect copy"? Might it not have been Shakspere's first rough sketch?

many and considerable differences between the Contention and True Tragedy, and Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, where many lines are partly, and, many lines are wholly, different,—we suddenly come upon a group of lines quite the same; lines often spoken by the less important characters of the plays. One can hardly imagine that a copyist would preserve intact the unimportant words spoken by minor personages, while he gave only garbled and imperfect versions of the speeches assigned to the chief characters. For instance: Act V. sc. iv. of Henry VI, Part 3, is very different from sc. xxi. of the True Tragedy (Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843, p. 180, l. 21); but the five lines spoken by Oxford are the same in both:

- "Women and children, of so high a courage,
 And warriors faint! why 'twere perpetual shame.
 O brave young prince! thy famous grandfather
 Doth live again in thee: long mayst thou live,
 To bear his image and renew his glories!"
- a. 4. I have said that the additional particulars found in the Contention and True Tragedy are an argument against their being spurious copies of the Henry VI plays. The omission from them of some of the finest passages is an even stronger argument.

Turn to York's speech with which 2 Henry VI, I. i. closes. Of the first half there is no trace whatever in the Contention, while the last half is exactly the same in both. Are we to suppose that the transcriber deliberately passed by these first 20 lines (lines which are full of life and power) while he copied the remainder with conscientious care? Moreover there is nothing in common between the first and last parts of the speech. The versification even is not the same. From line 230,

"Anjou and Maine both given unto the French"

(i. e. from the point where the speech is the same in both versions), to the end, there is a regular unbroken monotony in the metre;—there is only one line in which there are more than ten syllables; there is a pause at the end of every line:

"Anjourand Maine both given unto the French!
Cold news for me; for I had hope of France,
Even as I have of fertile England's soil.
A day will come when York shall claim his own;

And therefore I will take the Nevils' parts. And make a show of love to proud duke Hum phrey; And when I spy advantage, claim the crown, For that 's the golden mark I seek to hit; Nor shall proud Lancaster usurp my right, Nor hold the sceptre in his childish fist, Nor wear the diadem upon his head, Whose church-like humours fits not for a crown. Then, York, be still a-while till time do serve: Watch thou and wake when others be asleep. To pry into the secrets of the state: Till Henry surfeiting in joys of love, With his new bride and England's dear bought queen, And Humphrey with the peers be fallen at jars: Then will I raise aloft the milk white rose, With whose sweet smell the air shall be perfumed: And in my standard bear the arms of York, To grapple with the house of Lancaster; And force perforce I'll make him yield the crown, Whose bookish rule hath pull'd fair England down." 2 Henry VI, I. i. 236.

But in the first half all is different:

"York. Anjou and Maine are given to the French; Paris is lost; the state of Normandy Stands on a tickle point, now they are gone: Suffolk concluded on the articles; The peers agreed; and Henry was well pleased To change two dukedoms for a duke's fair daughter. I cannot blame them all: what is 't to them? 'Tis mine they give away, and not their own. Pirates may take cheap pennyworths of their pillage, And purchase friends and give to courtezans, Still revelling, like lords, till all be gone. While as the silly owner of the goods Weeps over them, and wrings his hapless hands, And shakes his head, and trembling stands aloof While all is shared and all is borne away, Ready to starve, and dare not touch his own: So York must sit, and fret, and bite his tongue, While his own lands are bargained for and sold. Methinks the realms of England, France, and I reland, Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood, As did the fatal brand Althea burned, Unto the prince's heart of Calydon." 2 Henry VI, I. i. 215. Here the writer is bound by no law but the poetic impulse of the moment. Here are no regulated pauses, no fixed pattern of line; the verse, like the thought, is alive.

And, apart from the versification, is there not an energy about the first part which presents a marked contrast to the tameness and coldness of the second? The first lines seem to stand out as distinct and separate from the last, as some branch that has been graffed on another stock stands out distinct and separate from the alien tree. Observe how both halves begin with the same line:

"Anjou and Maine both given to the French!"

Such a passage as this almost lets us see a later poet at his work of revision and enlargement. He copies down the opening words of the speech, writes off his own new and vigorous lines, and then, forgetting that he has already made use of the first line, joins on the entire speech as it stood in the older play. The effect is incongruous. It is like sewing a piece of new cloth on an old garment: the new agreeth not with the old.

Again, the speech made by York in the beginning of *Henry VI*, Part 3, I. iv, is full of beauty: as, for example, when he likens the Yorkist army to ships flying before the wind; and to lambs pursued by 'hunger-starved wolves'; or compares the fruitless rally and charge made by the beaten army to the bootless labour of a swan swimming against the tide. These are lines that linger in the memory. But they are all wanting to the passage as it appears in the *True Tragedy*. Can it be thought that a transcriber of *Henry VI*, Part 3, would have forgotten and left them out?

a. 5. Malone lays great stress on the passage I am about to refer to, as affording perhaps the strongest link in the chain of evidence which shows that the first Folio contains the later version—much enlarged and strengthened—of the plays as they appear in the Quartos. There are 22 lines at the beginning of *Henry VI*, Part 3, IV. iii,

I wish here to say in passing that the above argument has nothing to say to the authorship of the Contention, but only seeks to answer the question—is the Contention an older play than Henry VI, Part 2? When I come later on to speak of the authorship of the Contention I must briefly return to the 'Anjou and Maine' passage, in order to compare its structure with that of a speech made by Biron in Love's Labours Lost.

of which there is no trace in the corresponding scene of the *True Tragedy*. In the latter, we are required to imagine that Warwick having made the speech which concludes with the words—

"And now what rests but in night's coverture,
Thy brother being carelessly encampt,
His soldiers lurking in the town about,
And but attended by a simple guard,
We may surprise and take him at our pleasure,
Our scouts have found the adventure very easy,
Then cry King Henry with resolved minds,
And break we presently into his tent."

True Tragedy, sc. xiii, l. 13, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc.

True Tragedy, sc. xiii, l. 13, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 167, l. 23.

We are required, I say, to imagine that Warwick now crosses the stage, and by so doing (without any change of scene) reaches Edward's tent. The writer of *Henry VI*, Part 3, clearly thought that such a proceeding demanded too great an effort of imagination; accordingly he introduces a spirited conversation between the sentinels who are guarding Edward's tent; and whilst the attention of the audience is thus diverted, Warwick performs his journey behind the scenes. This difference makes the incident of Edward's capture tenfold more real and life-like. Had these 22 lines been in existence, it is difficult to believe that the writer of the *True Tragedy* would not have recognized their importance and inserted them.

To me it seems that the differences between the Contention and True Tragedy and Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, are so many and so important, that if we allow the former to be imperfect transcripts of the latter, we must suppose that some dramatist took his stolen copies or his short-hand notes and regularly re-wrote them. We must suppose that he newly versified the plays; that he introduced fresh circumstances; that he added much new and poor matter; and that he left out the greatest and most thoughtful passages. On no other supposition can the Contention and True Tragedy be imperfect copies of Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3. A play printed from short-hand notes or from a stage copy would (perhaps necessarily) be inferior to the original, but it could not, I maintain, exhibit the radical differences from it which I have shown to be contained in the Contention and True Tragedy as compared with 2 and 3 Henry VI.

b. 6. Turning now to the external evidence, that evidence is but scanty. The earliest known edition of the Contention is the Quarto of 1594.1 The earliest known edition of the True Tragedy is the Quarto of 1595.2 The earliest known edition of Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, is the first Folio of 1623. This, however, proves nothing as to the time at which the Henry VI plays were first published; and even supposing their publication was delayed until 1623, they might still have been written before the Contention and True Tragedy. The earliest contemporary allusion that we know of to any of the four is contained in Greene's pamphlet, the Groatsworth of Wit. Greene died in September, 1592, and a few months before his death he wrote this pamphlet, in which in the parting words addressed by him: "To those Gentlemen his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies," he makes the following complaint: "Yes, trust them not: for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that, with his Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute Iohannes fac totum, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie." By Shake-scene there can be no doubt that Greene meant Shakspere. The line "Tyger's heart wrapt in a Player's hide" is a parody of the line "Oh tiger's heart wrapped in a Woman's hide" which occurs in the True Tragedy (scene iii. l. 171, Camb. Sh. 4), and in Henry VI, Part 3 (I. iv. 137). It is said, and amongst other writers by so high an authority as Mr Richard Simpson, that the reference is here to Shakspere

Cornwal. 1595."

[&]quot;The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke Humphrey: And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke and the Tragicall end of the proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Jacke Cade: And the Duke of Yorkes first claime unto the Crowne. London Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornwall. 1594."

² "The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole contention betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke his seruants. Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Peters Church in

New Sh. Soc.'s Allusion-Books, i. 30, l. 30-5.
 Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 132, l. 19.

as a player, and not to Shakspere as a writer. But, besides that Greene calls Shakspere a 'Johannes factotum,' which implies that he did everything—that he wrote as well as played—is it probable that Greene, then famous as a dramatist, though he might well feel jealousy of a rival play-wright, would feel any jealousy of a mere player? For we must remember that actors as a class were then held in much contempt. The fair meaning, as it seems to me, of the passage in the Groatsworth of Wit is, that Shakspere had borrowed (or, as Greene would say, had stolen) from Greene and his friends; and that amongst other appropriations he had taken this line. If we grant this, if the passage does refer to Shakspere as a writer, we have, I think, as good proof as can be desired that the Henry VI plays were written before the summer of 1592—say 1590,—and, I think, equally good proof that the Contention and True Tragedy were anterior in date to them. we know of no other play save the True Tragedy and Henry VI, Part 3, in which the line in question occurs; and no one, I suppose, will be found to maintain that Greene and a friend of Greene wrote Henry VI, Part 3, and that Shakspere re-wrote the True Tragedy from it, borrowing amongst other lines the line: "Oh tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide." Mr Halliwell, who thinks the Contention and True Tragedy are Shakspere's early sketches of Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, conjectures that there were certain earlier plays, as yet undiscovered, which Shakspere made use of. If this be so, then Shakspere may have taken the famous line from one of these early plays! However, until these earlier plays are forthcoming I am content to believe that the line in question appeared first in the True Tragedy, and was transplanted from thence into Henry VI, Part 3. I conclude, therefore, that Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, were written before 1592, and that the Contention and True Tragedy were written still earlier.

II. The next thing to consider is the question of authorship. I do not believe that any part of the *Contention* or of the *True Tragedy* was written by Shakspere.

¹ It should be said that Mr Halliwell does not think this. He thinks the line appeared for the first time in the True Tragedy.

a. The external evidence, though chiefly negative, tells strongly against the opinion that he was the author of either. In addition to Greene's words which I have quoted above from the Groatsworth of Wit, there is first of all the fact that the True Tragedy (and probably the Contention) was acted by Lord Pembroke's players, while, so far as we know, none of Shakspere's plays were acted by that company. In the next place, there is the circumstance that the Contention and the True Tragedy were both in the hands of the publisher, Millington until 1602, and afterwards of Pavier by whom none of Shakspere's undisputed plays were published, but who between them owned nearly the whole of those which are known as the 'doubtful plays.' And further, Millington, when he published the plays in 1594 and 1595, did not put Shakspere's name to them, nor was his name mentioned when the plays were entered at Stationers' Hall. It was of course not an unusual occurrence for the plays of even the most celebrated writers to be published anonymously. Several of Marlowe's dramas were printed without his name. only three of Shakspere's undisputed plays were thus published, and these before 1598.1 After 1598 none of Shakspere's plays were printed without his name. Yet in 1600 another anonymous edition of the Contention and the True Tragedy was brought out by Millington, and it was not until the year 1619, when Shakspere had been in his grave three years, that Pavier brought out an edition of the plays with the name of William Shakespeare on the title page. It should be noted, that after Shakspere's death, Pavier in like manner published Sir John Oldcastle, A Yorkshire Tragedy, and The Puritan, stating that they were written by Shakspere, though we know that none of these plays were his.

That Meres (Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury, 1598)2 writing in 1598, does not mention the Henry VI plays or the Contention and True Tragedy, lends support to my conclusion. If Shakspere, as I

² I am told that Dr Ingleby believes the date of the writing of Palladis

Tamia to be 1596.

¹ Mr Halliwell is my authority here. See his Introduction to Contention and True Tragedy, Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843. Of course in arguing above that the Contention and the True Tragedy were not likely to have been published anonymously, had Shakspere been their writer, I take it for granted that they were original plays and not mere pirated copies.

believe, did not write the plays as we have them in the Quartos, and did write them, as we shall see, as they appear in the 1st Folio,—they certainly are not Shakspere's plays in the sense that *Richard II* and *Henry IV* are his; and Meres might well have left them out as being not Shakspere's original work, but only plays which he had revised and altered for the convenience of the theatre for which he was in the habit of writing.

b. The internal evidence which the plays afford is insufficient to convince me that Shakspere wrote any part of them. Here I dissent, and with diffidence, from an opinion which Mr Swinburne has expressed on this question in the second of his Shakspere Papers in the Fortnightly Review for January, 1876.

Contrasting the 2nd part of Henry VI with the Contention, he observes as to the comic scenes of the latter: "The Cade scenes of the original play—their forcible realism, their simple and life-like humour, can scarcely be ascribed to any hand but Shakspere's." But believing, as I do, that the plays were written some time, perhaps some years, before the summer of 1592, I cannot think that Shakspere wrote the scenes in question. Think for an instant on the manner and import of Shakspere's early works. Are they not overflowing with the mirth and lightheartedness of youth, and filled with memories of the happiness and freedom of his country home? But the comic scenes in the Contention are written by a man who knows the world and the things that are in the world; who has held close intercourse with men, and learned therefrom to mock and laugh, to scorn their envious desires, their petty prejudices, their fickleness and unreason. I can imagine Shakspere undertaking the task of rewriting these plays at a time when he was poor and unknown, and forced to be what Greene calls him, "a Jack of all trades." But I cannot imagine him to have been in any sense, at this period of his life, their original author. There are fine lines, and even passages of great beauty in Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3; but yet this revised work is vastly inferior to Shakspere's other historical plays. I account for this to myself by saying that Shakspere was here only revising, reforming, and enlarging the words of others; that he wrote, too, not uncontrolled and unfettered, but under the influence of, if not in

partnership with, one of the former writers; and lastly, that his heart was not in his work, for he wrote the *Henry VI* plays at a time of his life when it was impossible for him to feel an absorbing interest in the intrigues of ambitious men, or in the wrongs or rights of an ignorant mob.

Before stating my opinion as to who the writers of the Contention and True Tragedy may have been, I wish to notice a possible objection to my conclusion that Shakspere was not one of the writers. The objection is based on a supposed analogy between the Biron passage in Love's Labours Lost (IV. iii. 290)—where the same thoughts are repeated again and again in very similar words, and where one group of three lines is quite unnecessarily given twice over-and York's speech in Henry VI, Part 2 (I. i. 215), where the line "Anjou and Maine are given unto the French" occurs twice-I referred above (p. 227) to this speech of York's as proving that there had been an earlier version of Henry VI, Part 2, and that the Contention was this earlier version. My argument, it will be remembered, did not depend on the repetition of this line; but on the facts: (1) that the speech divides itself into two distinct parts, each of which opens with the same line; (2) that the entire of the second half is found in the Contention, while of the first half there is no trace whatever; and (3), that the two parts could not have been written by the same man if evidence of style be worth anything, since the one part is full of a spirit which is wholly wanting to the second, and since the metre of the two parts are strangely different.

It has been suggested to me that the repetition of thoughts and of lines in Biron's speech in Love's Labours Lost, and the repetition of a line in York's speech in 2 Henry VI, raise a presumption that there were earlier sketches of both plays; that—as in the revision and re-formation of both of these early sketches there occurred a like blunder, or a like piece of forgetfulness,—it may further be presumed that the same writer was the author of both: now we know that the author of any early sketch of Love's Labours Lost must have been Shakspere, and consequently the presumption is that the early sketch of 2 Henry VI was also by him. To this I

answer, in the first place, that the unnecessary repetition of a thought, of a line, or of a group of lines in any work shows that the writer made a rough copy of his work which he meant to revise-but which by some accident was not revised,—and shows nothing more. What is there peculiar, or extraordinary, or characteristic in any writer repeating a line or a sentence? Every writer who has time and opportunity to revise his work will avoid such repetition; but in the case of writers who have not time and opportunity, repetition is a thing of not uncommon occurrence. Take Lucretius as an example of this:-Lucretius not only transfers lines and groups of lines from one Book to another, but also not seldom gives the same lines twice over in the same book. As to these repetitions, Mr Munro thinks some to be undoubted interpolations; some intentional repetitions made by Lucretius himself; while many others (analogous to those which I am considering) the poet would probably have removed had he lived to revise his work:—the exordium of Book IV., for instance, could hardly have been intended to remain (vide Introduction to Notes I. of Munro's edition of Lucretius). Hence, I say that from any analogy there may be between the structure of Biron's speech in Love's Labours Lost, and York's speech in 2 Henry VI. it is not permissible to draw the conclusion that 'as Shakspere repeated an old genuine speech of his from Love's Labours Lost 1, in his recast Love's Labours Lost 2, so he did in the "Anjou and Maine " case of 2 Henry VI from his genuine Contention speech."

And further, I will not allow that the two passages stand on the same footing. In the "Anjou and Maine" passage the repeated line is necessary in both places to the sense. In the Biron speech the repeated lines are not necessary to the sense, and their recurrence spoils the connection and harmony of the passage. In York's speech the line was allowed by the revising writer to stand at the head of the second half, because it opened the speech of the older play which he was about to copy down word for word, or else because he may for the moment have forgotten that he had already made use of the line above. In Biron's speech the repetition of lines is not I think a case of 'forgetfulness.' It is far more likely to have been due to an error of the printer, who inserted a passage from a revised

copy in which it was, or was meant to be, marked for omission. But the second part of York's speech in 2 Henry VI could never have been marked for omission. It is absolutely necessary to the understanding the future action of the play. In it we receive the first intimation of York's ambition and treachery; of his resolve to rise to power by the influence of the Nevils,-while yet till time should serve he would be still, and make a show of love to the proud Duke of Gloster; of his determination by foul means or fair to seize the sceptre from the childish fist of a king whose bookish rule had pulled fair England down, and whose church-like humours unfitted him to reign. Without this passage much of the after conduct of York would remain unexplained. It has been said that from the early scenes of Shakspere's plays those who read between the lines can fore-see the after action of the story, and the future fortunes of the actors. The remark is eminently true of the concluding lines of the opening scene of Henry VI, Part 2.

III. Many circumstances point to Marlowe ¹ and Greene as the probable authors of the disputed plays. External evidence certainly suggests this conclusion, and even were this not so, we might, I think, infer it from the remarkable resemblances to the writings of Marlowe and Greene which the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* exhibit.

a. The passage in the Groatsworth of Wit implies that Greene, or a friend of Greene, had been the writer of a play or plays which Shakspere had appropriated. The following indirect evidence confirms the charge brought by Greene. Greene died before the publication of the Groatsworth of Wit; and Henry Chettle, one of his friends, 'writ it over,' as he says, and published it. Chettle afterwards felt sorry that he had had any share in giving to the world the abusive words written by Greene against Shakspere; and in the preface to his Kind-Harts Dreame, written about three months after Greene's death (i. e. Dec. 1592), referring to the fact that two

¹ Marlowe was, I know, born the same year as Shakspere—1564. He was therefore quite young in years when the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written. But it is not years only that make one man older than another.

persons had been offended by Greene's pamphlet, he says: "With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I neuer be: The other [Shakspere 1?] whome at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had... I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because my selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill, than he exclent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his vprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooues his Art." Although Chettle writes thus kindly of Shakspere, we observe that he does not retract the charge brought by Greene.

Again, the following verse occurs in a volume preserved in the Bodleian Library, and entitled *Greene's Funeralls* by R. B. Gent. 1594 [4to, Lond.]:

"Greene is the pleasing object of an eie Greene pleasde the eies of all that lookt vppon him. Greene is the ground of euerie painter's die; Greene gaue the ground to all that wrote vpon him. Nay more, the men that so eclipst his fame, Purloynde his plumes: can they deny the same?"

We here see how much this friend of Greene resented the use made by others of what Greene had written. We know of no other writings to which the lines can refer than the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. Hence the natural inference that Greene was either their author or one of their authors.

Once more: the *True Tragedy* was acted by Lord Pembroke's servants. Greene wrote, Nash tells us, "more than four other" for Lord Pembroke's company.² Marlowe's *Edward II* also was played by Lord Pembroke's men. Thus, independently of the proofs offered by the plays themselves, there is ground for believing that Greene was one of their writers; and there is, at least, no ground for disbelieving that Marlowe had a share in their composition.

There are two scenes—and only two—in the Contention and True

¹ Mr Richard Simpson has shown very convincingly that this passage in the preface to Kind-Harts Dreame, p. 38, refers to Shakspere. Shakspere Allusion-Books, Part I. p. xli, published by the New Shakspere Society.

² Greene was "chief agent of the companie, for he wrote more than four other."—Nash's Apologie for Pierce Pennilesse, 1593.

Tragedy, which on first thoughts seem to lie not beyond the range, but somewhat out of the wonted course, of Marlowe's genius. I mean scene x, of the Contention from 19 to 112 (and Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843, p. 40, l. 3, to p. 43, l. 5), when Duke Humphrey's murder has been discovered, and scene iii. of the True Tragedy 1, when York is reviled and put to death by Margaret. But it is only first thoughts which need tempt any reader to question the probability of these scenes being by Marlowe. There is at any rate less improbability in attributing them to him than there is in attributing them to any dramatist whom we know to have been living at the time when the Contention and True Tragedy were written. It is of course to passages such as these that any person who believes Shakspere to have been in part the author of the Contention and True Tragedy will naturally point. Accordingly, as one might expect, Mr Grant White lays great stress on these scenes. His argument, which is put most forcibly, amounts to this: 'Who save Shakspere about the year 1590' (I myself believe the date of the old plays to be earlier), 'had written such verses as these? Marlowe? Greene? Peele? One of them, if any one: and it is they who accuse Shakspere of having appropriated the verses. If it be possible that the verses are not Shakspere's, it is almost certain that they are neither Marlowe's, Greene's, nor Peele's. Not one or all of them could have produced such lines at the time when they were written, though the grade of these is low in Shakspere's scale of merit. Their united skill would have failed to produce a dialogue such as that of scene x. of the Contention-in which thought, diction, and rhythm sprung up together to flow on in such a consentaneous stream.' (Essay on the Authorship of King Henry VI, p. 415.) This is Mr Grant White's argument. Now, on my part, I will put the following questions: -If there is external evidence which suggests that Shakspere could not have been the writer of these verses; -if at the time they were written Shakspere had produced nothing comparable to them in thought, diction, or rhythm, or had "certainly not done so in any of his acknowledged compositions;"-and if, "therefore, it may be assumed that he" (Shakspere) 66 had not written in an anonymous work the parts peculiarly distin-

¹ Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 130, l. 18, to p. 133, l. 28.

guished by such merit"? what becomes of Mr Grant White's argument? To establish these three hypotheses has been the chief object of this paper.

But if it was not Shakspere, who then was the writer of the scenes? On Mr Grant White's own showing there was no one else who could have written them except Marlowe, or Greene, or Peele. I say the writer was Marlowe. Mr Grant White dares (so to speak) any one to produce verses by Marlowe comparable in thought, diction, or rhythm to these Contention and True Tragedy lines. I accept the challenge. I say that in Marlowe's dramas there are many passages which equal these in the music of their rhythm, and in the strength of their diction, and which far surpass them in depth of thought. To what a pitch of greatness Marlowe's genius might have reached had he lived to attain perfect manhood I cannot tell. All I know is, that when he died at the age of 30 years he was the greatest dramatic poet whom England had yet seen (a greater poet, I dare to say, than Shakspere was at the same date); and that in power of imagery, in majesty of thought, in depth of passionate feeling, he excelled all who had written before him, and all (even Shakspere) who wrote during his lifetime. His short life and brief period of greatness remind me of the story told of the stranger athlete who-when the men of Greece were assembled to view the game of quoits, and were watching with delight and admiration the feats of strength achieved by their youth, -strode down from the mountains, and taking the quoit flung it without effort further than it had ever yet been thrown by any man; and then, while old and young gazed on him with wonder and with envy, turned and left them, and was seen no more. I will quote two passages from Marlowe. Who will tell me that the 10th scene of the Contention or the 3rd scene of the True Tragedy contains verses as beautiful or as thoughtful as these !—

"Faust. Was this the face that launched a thousand ships, And burnt the topless towers of Ilium Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss! Her lips suck forth my soul! see where it flies; Come, Helen, come, give me my soul again! Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips, And all is dross that is not Helena.

I will be Paris; and for love of thee,
Instead of Troy shall Wittenberg be sacked;
And I will combat with weak Menelaus,
And wear thy colours on my plumed crest:
Yea, I will wound Achilles in the heel,
And then return to Helen for a kiss.
Oh! thou art fairer than the evening air
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars;
Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter,
When he appeared to hapless Semele;
More lovely than the monarch of the sky
In wanton Arethusa's azure arms;
And none but thou shalt be my paramour!"—Faust. v. 3.

"Faust. Tell me what is that Lucifer thy lord?

Mephistophilis. Arch regent and commander of all spirits.

Faust. Was not that Lucifer an Angel once?

Meph. Yes, Faustus, and most dearly loved of God.

Faust. How comes it then that he is prince of devils?

Meph. Oh! by aspiring pride and insolence,

For which God threw him from the face of heaven.

Faust. And what are you that live with Lucifer?

Meph. Unhappy spirits that fell with Lucifer.

Conspired against our God with Lucifer, And are for ever damned with Lucifer.

Faust. Where are you damned?

Meph. In Hell.

Faust. How comes it then that thou art out of Hell?

Meph. Why this is Hell, nor am I out of it.
Thinkst thou that I that saw the face of God,
And tasted the eternal joys of Heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand Hells
In being deprived of everlasting bliss?
Oh! Faustus, leave these frivolous demands,
Which strike a terror to my fainting heart.
Faust. What, is great Mephistophilis so passionate

For being deprived of the joys of Heaven!
Learn thou of Faustus manly fortitude,
And scorn those joys thou never shalt possess."—Faust. i. 3.

I have chosen extracts from Faustus which are not so long as those taken by Mr Grant White from the Contention and True Tragedy. Not that the scenes from which I copy will not afford fine extracts as long as those which he cites. But my paper is of necessity overloaded with quotation, so that I have made it my aim to abridge my examples whenever it has been possible.

I return from this somewhat long digression to show that—from the internal evidence afforded by the plays themselves—there is good ground for believing that Marlowe and Greene wrote the Contention and True Tragedy.

b. Similarity of style is no doubt a fallacious test; but though I found my opinion in a measure on the strange likeness which exists between the form and fashion of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, and the plays of Marlowe and Greene,—yet I rest that opinion upon the further and surer ground of similarity of grammatical structure; of verbal expression; and of thought.

b. 1. I have said above that the versification of the Contention and the True Tragedy is antiquated, and, so to speak, 'old-fashioned' as compared with that of Henry VI; it may therefore seem a contradiction to compare the versification of the two plays with that of And yet the contradiction is only a seeming one. true that Marlowe was the father of dramatic blank verse. 'mighty line,' as in all else, he strode onward, and left all contemporary poets but Shakspere far behind. Still he was, at times, and especially when writing his historical play Edward II, largely under the influence of that traditional monotony of metrical structure from which Shakspere was the first to break wholly free. In writing his portions of the Contention and of the True Tragedy I suppose Marlowe to have adopted voluntarily or involuntarily the metrical style of those who had written 'history plays' before him. It is, too, quite possible that both plays were amongst Marlowe's early writings. At all events, that any dramatist save Marlowe could before the year 1590 have written plays with as little rime as the Contention and the True Tragedy is well nigh impossible. The absence of rime is a strong argument against the Shaksperian authorship of the plays. In all Shakspere's early plays, even in the early historical plays, there is a large amount of rime. Of the many weak (in a metrical point of view) and slipshod lines in the Contention and the True Tragedy, Marlowe is of course guiltless. There are so many weak and careless lines in Greene, that there is nothing improbable in attributing them to him.

b. 2. As to the grammatical structure of the two plays, Mr Grant

White was the first to call attention to the recurrence of the construction "for to," with an infinitive, in both. In the Contention I find it occurs five times, and in the True Tragedy four times. Shakspere, I believe, only uses this construction three or four times in all his writings—in the Winter's Tale (I. ii. 427), in Pericles (IV. ii. 71), in All's Well that Ends Well (V. iii. 181). But Greene uses it frequently: for example, eight times in Friar Bacon, and ten times in James IV. Marlowe also makes use of "for to," though by no means so often as Greene. I have found it in Tamburlaine, in Faustus, and in the Massacre at Paris.

The grammatical inaccuracy of coupling a subject in the plural with a verb in the singular, is a very common one in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. In the former it occurs 27 times, in the latter 15 times ³; e. g.,

"And is all our labours then spent in vain." Cont. i. 75, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 6, l. 1.

"So triumphs thieves upon their conquered."

T. T. iii. 100, and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 130, l. 15.

Marlowe occasionally falls into this error 4; e.g.,

"Was there such brethren?"—1 Tam, ii. 2.

"Such rare exploits as never yet was seen."-Faust. iii. 4.

"For to," vide *Contention* (Camb. Sh.) i. 70, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 5, l. 26; iii. 152, and Reprints, p. 16, l. 25; iv. 7, and Reprints, p. 17, l. 21; iv. 13, and Reprints, p. 17, l. 27; vi. 58, and Reprints, p. 27, l. 4; and *True Tragedy*, vii. 6, and Reprints, p. 146, l. 19; xi. 155, and Reprints, p. 163, l. 14; xvi. 7, and Reprints, p. 171, l. 3; xxi. 20, and Reprints, p. 180, l. 19.

"For to" appears in *Titus Andronicus*, IV. ii. 44, and IV. iii. 51. But whether these lines are Shakspere's cannot be said with any certainty. It is also found in the early editions of *Hamlet* in two places: "which for to prevent," III. i. 175, and "We'll teach you for to drink," I. ii. 175; but the Folios change the former into "to," or "how to prevent," and the latter into "to drink."

³ The Contention and True Tragedy are very inaccurately printed. It is quite possible that some of the 42 examples of a plural nominative and

singular verb which I have found in them may be printers' errors.

4 Perhaps it is scarcely accurate to call it an 'error,' since 's' marked the inflection of the northern East English 3rd person plural as well as the 3rd person singular. In Elizabethan English, also, it was in some cases used when the quasi-singular verb preceded the plural subject; or when the verb had for its nominative two singular nouns. (Vide Abbott's Grammar of Shahspeare, Par. 333.)

- "What is thine arms?"—Edw. II, ii. 2.
- "But malice, falsehood and excessive pride, Which methinks fits not their profession."

Jew of Malta, i. 1.

But Shakspere, likewise, in many of his plays uses a plural nominative with a singular verb. I cannot say positively that Marlowe does so oftener than Shakspere. My chief reason for calling attention to the construction here is, that, since it appears very frequently in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, were it not found in the writings of either Marlowe or Greene this would be rather an argument against their being the authors of the plays.

To these examples of grammatical resemblances may be added the use of "as" meaning "that" (either of purpose or of consequence) when preceded by "so," or "such" (and even when not thus preceded). This idiom occurs both in the Contention and True Tragedy (vide Cont. iii. 54, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 13, l. 16; viii. 36, and Reprints, p. 31, l. 19; and True Tragedy, xxii. 76, and Reprints, p. 186, l. 14). It is, also, of most frequent occurrence in Greene's and in Marlowe's writings. Thus in Alphonsus of Arragon I have found it twelve times, in Orlando Furioso nine times, and in Edward II six times. In Shakspere the same construction is found, but with nothing like the same frequency. Except in the Shrew, it does not seem to come more than once in any play or poem that he wrote.

b. 3. Resemblances of verbal expression. Let the turn of speech "Image of" apostrophizing Suffolk in the line of the Contention: "Image of pride, wherefore should I peace" (Cont. iii. 101, and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 15, 1. 4), be compared with "Image of honour" in 1 Tamburlaine, v. 2, and "Image of sloth" in 2 Tamburlaine, iv. 2. (I admit of course that Shakspere writes "image of" often, e. g., "image of hell," viz. 'night,' Lucr. 764; "image of life," 1 Henry IV, V. iv. 120; "images of revolt," viz. the feigned excuses sent to their father by Goneril and Regan, Lear, II. iv. 91; but Shakspere nowhere uses this phrase with a personal application, and as a personal epithet, as it is used in the examples I have quoted from the Contention and from Marlowe's plays.)

'Countervail' is a favourite word with Greene. In the Carde of

Funcie it occurs twenty times. It is found also in the True Tragedy, e.g., "Than may the present profit countervail" (sc. v. 52, Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 140, l. 31). Shakspere only uses the word once in all his writings (Romeo and Juliet, II. vi. 4). Marlowe has it several times.

The phrase "awkward winds" occurs both in Edward II and in the Contention:

"With awkward winds and with sore tempests driven To fall on shore."—Edward II, IV. vi.

"Was I for this, nigh wrackt upon the sea, And thrice by awkward winds driven back from England's bounds?" Contention, x. 37, 38, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 40, l. 21.

The verb "to clad" (not found, I believe, in Shakspere) occurs in Greene's plays and in the *True Tragedy*: e.g.,

"Phœbus, put on thy sable suited wreath!
Clad all thy spheres in dark and mourning weeds."
Orlando, 108, ii. Dyce.

"I will go clad my body in gay ornaments."—True Tragedy, x. 113, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 157, l. 28.

In 3 Henry VI, III. ii. 149, "clad" is changed to "deck." Cf. also "clad" in True Tragedy, iv. 129, and Reprints, p. 137, l. 34, changed to "wrap" in 3 Henry VI, II. i. 161.

The verb "to eternize," which appears in the lines-

"Saint Alban's battle won by famous York Shall be eternized in all age to come."—*Cont.* xxiii. 95, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 72, l. 7.

is made use of both by Marlowe and by Greene: e. g.

"Even as thou hopest to be eternized By living Asia's mighty emperor."—1 Tum. i. 2.

"How is my soul environed,—
And this eternized city, Babylon,
Filled with a pack of faint-heart fugitives."—2 Tam. v. 1.

"This is the time that must eternize me."-2 Tam. v. 2.

"Be a physician, Faustus; heap up gold
And be eternized for some wondrous cure."—Faust. i. 1.

"I would my lord eternize him with fame."

Orlando, 108, ii. Dyce.

The word is never used by Shakspere.

And yet, while holding that any person who turns to the plays of Marlowe and of Greene immediately after reading the Contention and True Tragedy cannot fail to be struck by instances of peculiar grammatical structure and of verbal expression common to their plays and to the Contention and True Tragedy, I will freely concede that we should not hastily or rashly thence draw any conclusions as to the authorship of the latter; because instances of like structure and of like phrases are in many cases to be found (as I have noted) scattered through Shakspere's plays, and possibly through the plays of other 16th-century dramatists. Still, while I am unwilling it should be thought that I set too great store by an argument based on these resemblances,—nevertheless, when discussing a disputed question as to authorship, I maintain that such resemblances are of some value. They are not, I admit, of great value; but when, as in the case before us, all evidence is probable, not positive, it would be unwise to reject any testimony which may aid us in arriving at a conclusion. to return :-

b. 4. Resemblances of thought. The scenes describing the disputes of the nobles in the Contention and the True Tragedy vividly recall the passionate language of Lancaster, Mortimer, and Warwick in Marlowe's Edward II. There is a close contiguity of thought between the despondency of Henry in scene viii. of the True Tragedy (Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843, p. 147), and of Mycetes in Act II. scene iv. of 1 Tamburlaine, as well as of Edward in Act IV. scene vi. of Edward II: and there is likewise, I think, a similarity of thought between Suffolk's parting words to Margaret (Cont. x. 200, and Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843, p. 46, l. 9) and Faust's immortal words addressed to Helen:

"Her lips suck forth my soul! see where it flies; Come, Helen, come, give me my soul again. Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips, And all is dross that is not Helena," &c

On turning to Greene let me give as a single example of resemblance of thought between one of his plays and the *Contention*, the scornful discontent of York when he exclaims:

"A subject as he is!

Oh! how I hate these spiteful abject terms," &c.

Cont. xxi. 15, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 64, l. 18.

compared with the words of Sacripant in Orlando Furioso:

"Honour,—methinks the title is too base:
Mighty, glorious, and excellent,—aye these,
My glorious¹ genius sound within my mouth;
These please the ear, and with a sweet applause
Make me in terms co-equal with the gods.
Then these, Sacripant, or none but these;
Aye these, or else make hazard of thy life.
Let it suffice—I will conceal the rest."—Dyce's edition, 92, ii.

b. 5. Besides the resemblances which I have just noticed between the Contention and True Tragedy, and Marlowe's writings, there are also numerous instances of lines verbally transcribed, or reproduced with but slight alterations. That an author should so closely repeat himself is unusual; but that any one else should so openly borrow from the works of a living writer universally known is still more unusual. Shakspere, as I shall have occasion to notice, borrows now and then an isolated line from Marlowe. But this is not in any sense a parallel case. Hence, to take the less improbable of two hypotheses, it is not unreasonable to infer that Marlowe was here repeating himself, and that he was one of the writers of the Contention and True Tragedy. Mr Simpson, in writing of an analogous question,—the verbal parallelisms between the Taming of a Shrew and Marlowe's plays-suggests: "that Shakspere might have written the comedy with its Marlowesque turgidity in the more serious parts in order to show what manner of writer he would be if, as had been said of him, he was a mere plagiarist from Marlowe" (Shakspere Allusion-Books, p. xlvii.). But this suggestion is not admissible in the case of the Contention and True Tragedy. I will give those lines which are repeated or imitated from Marlowe 2:

"glorious, a wrong epithet, repeated by mistake from the preceding line."—Dyce.

² As we do not know the time at which the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written, it may of course be that Marlowe introduces lines from them into his other plays, and not that he introduced from the other plays into the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.

"I tell thee, Poull, when thou didst run at tilt And stolest away our ladies' hearts in France."

Cont. iii. 59, 60, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 13, 1, 21.

"Tell Isabel the queen I looked not thus When for her sake I ran at tilt in France."—Edw. II, V. v.

"But still must be protected like a child, And governed by that ambitious Duke."

Cont. iii. 49, 50, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 13, l. 11.

"As the your Highness were a school-boy still." And must be awed and governed like a child."

Edw. II. III. ii.

"Even to my death, for I have lived too long." Cont. vii. 10, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 27, l. 22.

"Nay to my death, for too long have I lived."

Edw. II, V. vi.

"The wild Oneyl, my lord, is up in arms, With troops of Irish kerns, that, uncontrolled, Doth plant themselves within the English pale." Cont. ix. 134, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 37, l. 11.

"The wild Oneyl, with swarms of Irish kerns. Lives uncontrolled within the English pale."

Edw. II, II. ii.

"Stern Fawconbridge commands the narrow seas." T. T. i. 210, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 124, l. 17.

"The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas."

Edw. II, II. ii.

"Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle." T. T. xx. 6, 7, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 177, l. 29.

"A lofty cedar tree fair flourishing On whose top branches kingly eagles perch."

Edw. II, II. ii.

"What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster Sink into the ground? I had thought it would have mounted."-T. T. xxii. 50, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 185, l. 20.

"And highly scorning that the lowly earth Should drink his blood, mounts up into the air."

Edw. II, V. i.

"Frownest thou thereat, aspiring Lancaster?"—Edw. II, I. i.

"Sweet duke of York our prop to lean upon, Now thou art gone there is no hope for us." T. T. iv., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 135. "Sweet duke of Guise our prop to lean upon, Now thou art dead here is no stay for us."

Massacre at Paris, III. iii.

The lines in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* which resemble lines in Greene's acknowledged writings are by no means so many or so important as those which I have shown to be imitated from Marlowe. There are, however, some which are worthy of note: e. g.,

"York. And when I spy advantage claim the crown, For that's the golden mark I seek to hit." Cont. i. 149, 150, and Sh. Soc. Reprints, p. 8, l. 11.

"Sacripant. Friend only to myself

And to the crown, for that's the golden mark Which makes my thoughts dream on a diadem."

Orlando, Dyce's ed. 92, ii.

"Pardon my lord, a sudden qualm comes over my heart."

Cont. i. 50, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 5, l. 4.

"A sudden qualm assails my heart."

James IV, Dyce's ed. 213, i.

"Stay, villain, thy prisoner is a prince."

Cont. xii. 27, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 48, l. 25.

"Oh villain, thou hast slain a prince."

Orlando, 107, ii. Dyce's ed.

"If any spark of life remain in thee,

Down, down to hell, and say I sent thee thither."

True Tragedy, xxii. 56, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 185, l. 26.

These last lines occur in a passage of the *True Tragedy* which was certainly written by Marlowe. Still, there is nothing unnatural in supposing, if Marlowe and Greene were working in partnership, that Greene may have suggested this particular line, or that Marlowe may have introduced it out of compliment to his fellow-worker.

Mr Rives, in his essay on the *Henry VI* plays, cites from Grant White, as footprints of Greene, the lines:

"Shall lop thy limbs and slice thy cursed heart For to revenge the murders thou hast made."

True Tragedy, vii. 5, 6, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 146, l. 19.

comparing from Greene's James IV: "Ay'l so lop thy limbs that thou go with half a knave's carcase to the deil;" and in Orlando Furioso: "Or slice the tender fillets of my life." However, this 7th scene of the True Tragedy is, I think, probably Marlowe's. There are in Tamburlaine phrases very similar to those which Mr Rives quotes from James IV and Orlando Furioso.

b. 6. But though there are not in the Contention and True Tragedy so many lines reproduced or closely imitated from lines in Greene's plays, as there are lines reproduced or closely imitated from lines by Marlowe,—yet there are other and close resemblances—such as remote allusions, proverbial sayings, &c.,—between the Contention and True Tragedy and Greene's writings which should be noted.

In the Contention, xii. 51, Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 49, l. 15, mention is made of "Abradas the great Macedonian pirate." In Henry VI, Part 2, IV. i. 108, the name is changed to "Bargalus the strong Illyrian pirate." Doubtless the change was made because Bargalus was somewhat a famous character, while Abradas was quite unknown. Mr Halliwell tells us that Cicero mentions "Bargulus Illyrius latro;" and that Bargulus or Bardullis is spoken of by Plutarch in his Life of Pyrrhus. Malone says that Robert Whyttington in 1533 speaks of "Bargalus a pirate upon the sea of Illyria;" and that Nicholas Grimald, writing in 1536, calls him "Bargalus the Illyrian robber." But except in this line of the Contention, "Abradas" has been found only once in all literature, and that in a book by Greene, "Penelope's Web."

In the Contention, in the scene of the wrestling match between the Armourer and Peter, when they are about to fall to blows, the Armourer says: "and so have at you, Peter, with downright blows as Bevis of Southampton fell upon Askapart" (sc. vii. l. 68, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 29, l. 27). This allusion is left out of the amended play; but Greene alludes to the famous old romance in James IV, when Jacques says: "Me make you die on my Morglay" (p. 210, ii. Dyce's ed.). Now "Morglay" was the sword of Bevis of Southampton.

Another point of resemblance, though a trifling one, between the True Tragedy and a play of Greene's, is this. In sc. 13 of the True

Tragedy, Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 167, Warwick and Clarence contrive a plot to seize King Edward; and then, without their leaving the stage, the scene shifts to Edward's camp; Warwick enters, and the King is taken—a sudden and abrupt transition which imposes a strong strain on the imagination of the audience. In a scene of Greene's Pinner of Wakefield, a similar effort of imagination is demanded (vide Dyce's edition, 262, i. and 265, i.).

Any one who has read Greene's works must have observed his fondness for proverbial sayings. For instance, in *Friar Bacon* we find: "That come to see and to be seen;" "A penny for your thoughts;" "The more the fox is cursed, better he fares," &c. And in *James IV*, "Run with the hare and hunt with the hounds;" "The cat's away the mice may play," &c. Now in both the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* the number of proverbial sayings is remarkable: e. g.,

"Still waters run deep."—Cont. ix. 25, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 33, l. 25 (also in Greene's Friar Bacon).

"A staff is quickly found to beat a dog."

Cont. ix. 88, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 35, l. 33.

"I can give the loser leave to speak."

Cont. ix. 92, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 36, l. 3.

"This would be ten days wonder at the least."

T. T. x. 92, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 157, l. 7.

"Beggars mounted, run their horse to death."

T. T. iii. 161, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 132, l. 9.

(Cf. Greene's Opharion, p. 19, 1599.)

"Things evil got, had ever bad success."
T. T. v. 45, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 140, l. 24.

"And happy ever was it for that son Whose father for his hoarding went to hell."

T. T. v. 46, 47, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 140, 1. 25, 26.

(This proverb occurs in Greene's Royal Exchange, 4to, London, 1590, and also in Greene's Newes both from Heaven and Hell, 4to, London, 1593. Sig. H. 3.)¹

¹ See also *Cont.* x. 144, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 44, l. 14; xiii. 9, and Reprints, p. 50, l. 19; xx. 16, and Reprints, p. 63, l. 12; and *T. T.* v. 100, and Reprints, p. 142, l. 17 (an allusion to the old proverb, "one pair of heels

III. c. I now turn to the question of similarity of character in the Contention and True Tragedy, and in the plays of Marlowe and of Greene. This at once raises the further question—What parts of either were written by Marlowe and what parts by Greene?

In the True Tragedy there is no comedy; but in the Contention some of the best scenes are comic. Now it is beyond a doubt that Marlowe was incapable of writing the Cade scenes of the Contention; and with regard to the early comic scenes of this play, which describe the mistake made by the petitioners from Long Melton between the Protector Gloster and Suffolk; the dispute and combat between the Armourer and Peter; and the miracle wrought by Duke Humphrey when he made the blind to see and the lame to walk; -these cannot with any probability be ascribed to Marlowe. There are not more poor and meagre scenes in the whole range of dramatic literature. I, therefore, assign to Greene, in the Contention, a large part of scene iii., the whole of scene v., and the last half of scene vii. But if we see Greene at his worst in these three scenes, we see him at his best in that part of the Contention which relates to the rebellion of Jack Cade and the men of Kent. The chief difficulty is, that these scenes are almost too good to be his. The excellence of this part has made more than one writer believe the old plays to be by Shakspere. But the Contention was probably written, as I have striven to show, before 1590. Shakspere's genius for comedy was at that time little developed. On the other hand, Greene was then acknowledged to be the greatest living comedian. Chettle (in 1592) in his Kind-Harts Dreame, 2 says of him: "He was of singuler plesaunce, the verye supporter, and, to no mans disgrace bee this intended, the only Comedian of a vulgar writer in this country." the words "to no man's disgrace be this intended," Chettle is believed to allude to Shakspere. The passage goes far to prove that none of Shakspere's great comedies had then appeared. Could Chettle possibly have written thus, if Shakspere had written the Cade scenes

is worth two pair of hands"); viii. 14, and Reprints, p. 147, l. 14; xx. 60, and Reprints, p. 179, l. 22; xxii. 7, and Reprints, p. 184, l. 9; x. 11, and Reprints, p. 154, l. 13.

Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), pp. 11, 21, 28.
 New Sh. Soc. Allusion-Books, p. 44.

in the Contention? Is it then unnatural or unreasonable to infer that Greene was the author of these scenes 1?

Leaving aside the comedy of the Contention, let us consider what parts of the tragic scenes in it and in the True Tragedy are Marlowe's, and what parts are Greene's. It is, I think, impossible to decide with regard to every passage in either play, whether it was written by one or by the other. Some parts I can assign with a certain feeling of conviction; about others I feel considerable doubt. When we have nothing but internal evidence to guide us, such doubt is inevitable. Marlowe, it is most likely, took certain characters; Greene took certain others; but they also, I have no doubt, took, each, particular scenes—those scenes in which the characters specially assigned to each played a chief part:—and if the characters of Greene came into Marlowe's scene, or the characters of Marlowe into a scene of Greene's,

¹ Here is a fair specimen of Greene's comedy:—

"First Lord. Here's one sits here asleep, my lord.

Rasni. Wake him and make enquiry of this thing. First Lord. Sirrah you! hearest thou fellow?

Adam. If you will fill a fresh pot, here's a penny, or else fare well, gentle tapster.

First Lord. He is drunk, my lord.

Rasni. We'll sport with him that Alvida may laugh. Lord. Sirrah, thou fellow, thou must come to the king.

Adam. I will not do a stroke of work to-day, for the ale is good ale, and you can ask but a penny for a pot, no more by the statute.

Lord. Villain, here's the king; thou must come to him.

Adam. The king come to an ale-house!—Tapster, fill me 3 pots.—Where's the king? is this he?—Give me your hand, sir; as good ale as ever was tapt; you shall drink while your skin crack.

Rasni. But hearest thou, fellow, who killed this man?

Adam. I'll tell you, sir,—if you did taste of the ale,—all Nineveh had not such a cup of ale, it flowers in the cup, sir; by my troth, I spent 11 pence, beside 3 races of ginger.

Rasni. Answer me, knave, to my question, how came this man slain?

Adam. Slain! why, the ale is strong ale, 'tis huff cap; I warrant you 'twill make a man well.—Tapster, ho! for the king a cup of ale, and a fresh toast; here's two races more.

Alvida. Why, good fellow, the king talks not of drink; he would have

thee tell him how this man came dead.

Adam. Dead! nay, I think I am alive yet, and will drink a full pot ere night; but hear ye, if ye be the wench that filled us drink, why so, do your office, and give us a fresh pot; or if you be the tapster's wife, why, so, wash the glass clean.

Alvida. He is so drunk, my lord, there is no talking with him.

Adam. Drunk! nay, then, wench, I am not drunk: I tell thee I am not drunk; I am a smith, I."—Looking-Glass for London, Dyce's ed., 127, col. 1.

then, for the time being, Marlowe or Greene would write parts not properly belonging to him. Richard is Marlowe's work, yet there are certain lines where, I think, Greene, not Marlowe, writes Richard's part. Edward IV is Greene's work, yet occasionally Marlow undertakes the part. And sometimes, even in scenes which may belong, strictly speaking, to Marlowe or to Greene, the other seems to have lent his aid. For example, scene xxiii. of the Contention (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 68, l. 22) is Marlowe's, though I cannot think he wrote the doggrel lines with which the scene begins. And again, in scene v. of the True Tragedy (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 140), Henry's speech beginning:

"Full well hath Clifford played the orator,"

is, I think, Greene's work, while the rest of the scene is written by Marlowe.

Speaking broadly, in the Contention and True Tragedy the characters of King Henry VI, Cardinal Beaufort, York, Suffolk, the two Cliffords, are drawn by Marlowe; but I say this with the reservation, that in certain scenes written by Greene, the parts of these characters were written by Greene also. The same hand which drew the Mycetes of Tamburlaine and Edward II surely wrote the part of Henry in the Contention and True Tragedy. Take the lines spoken by Mycetes in 1 Tam. II. iv. Might they not have been spoken with equal propriety by Henry VI?

"Accursed be he that first invented war! They knew not, ah, they knew not, simple men, How those were hit by pelting cannon shot, Stand staggering like a quivering aspen leaf Fearing the force of Boreas' boisterous blasts. In what a lamentable case were I, If Nature had not given me wisdom's lore, For Kings are clouts that every man shoots at, Our crown the pin that thousands seek to cleave."

There can be no question that Richard is the work of Marlowe. No other writer but Marlowe (granting that Shakspere did not produce them) would have written those cruel, passionate, melancholy lines which sum up Richard's character in the 10th and in the 22nd scenes of the *True Tragedy* (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 157, and

p. 185). The first rude sketch, as it were, of this great character (for the Richard of the True Tragedy is a great character) may be discerned in Marlowe's Tamburlaine:

> "Meander. Some powers divine, or else infernal, mixed Their angry seeds at his conception; For he was never sprung of human race, Since with the spirit of his fearful pride, He dare so doubtlessly resolve to rule, And by profession be ambitious. Ortygius. What god, or fiend, or spirit of the earth, Or monster turned to a manly shape Or of what mould or metal he be made, What star or state so-ever govern him, Let us put on our meet encountering minds, And in detesting such a devilish chief, In love of honour and defence of right Be armed against the hate of such a foe Whether from earth, or hell, or heaven he grow."

1 Tam. II. vi.

(Cf. also 2 Tam. Act V. scene i., from where Tamburlaine and the Governor of Babylon meet.)

The lines spoken by young Clifford, True Tragedy, scene iii. (Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 128), are surely written by Marlowe:-

> "Had I thy brethren here, their lives and thine Were not revenge sufficient for me; Or should I dig up thy forefathers' graves, And hang their rotten coffins up in chains, It could not slake mine ire nor ease my heart. The sight of any of the house of York Is as a fury to torment my soul. Therefore, till I root out that cursed line, And leave not one on earth, I'll live in hell."

The passionate love scenes between Margaret and Suffolk lead me to assign these characters also to Marlowe. His extraordinary facility in invective and abuse is conspicuously shown in the scene where the lovers part! His strong hand it is, that describes the

1 Compare Suffolk's words: " Poison be their drink, Gall worse than gall, the daintiest thing they taste, Their sweetest shade a grove of cyprus trees, Their softest touch as smart as lizards' stings. Their music frightful like the serpent's hiss. · And boding scrike-owls make the concert full.

disloyal love and impotent rage of the Queen, and the unmeasured anger—offspring of love, hate, and baffled purpose—of Suffolk. I am glad to think that the Margaret of the Henry VI plays was first conceived by Marlowe, not by Shakspere. Surely Shakspere would have seen something nobler in the high-souled, brave-spirited, unfortunate Margaret of Anjou, than a woman pettily jealous, a vindictive, bloodthirsty fury, and an unfaithful wife.1 Marlowe has left us no great woman's part. If we judge him by the heroines he has drawn for us-Zenocrate, Isabel, and Abigail-his conception of womanhood was not one to awaken sympathy. As to particular scenes in the plays which are written by Marlowe, those about which I feel most certainty are, the Cardinal's death; the parting of Suffolk and Margaret; the scenes which relate the recriminations of the nobles (both in the Contention and True Tragedy); the scenes describing the death of York, the death of Henry, and that in which the news that York is dead is brought to his sons. Observe with what skill—in this last scene—Marlowe contrasts the natures of Edward and of Richard:

"Edw. But what art thou that look'st so heavily?

Messenger. Oh one that was a woful looker on

When as the noble Duke of York was slain.

Edw. Oh speak no more, for I can hear no more.

Rich. Tell on thy tale, for I will hear it all."

T. T. iv. 24—29, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 134, ll. 22—27.

All the foul terrors in dark-seated hell '

Cont. x. 157--164, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 44, ll. 27-34 with the words of Orcanes in 2 Tamburlaine:

"Now shall his barbarous body be a prey
To beasts and fowls, and all the winds shall breathe
Through shady leaves of every senseless tree,
Murmurs and hisses for his heinous sin.
Now scalds his soul in the Tartarian streams,
And feeds upon the baneful tree of hell,
That Zoacum, that fruit of bitterness,
That in the midst of fire is ingraffed,
Yet flourishes as Flora in her pride,
With apples like the heads of damned fiends.
The devils there, in chains of quenchless flame,
Shall lead his soul through Orcus' burning gulf,
From pain to pain, whose change shall never end."—2 Tam. ii. 3.

¹ The reader will recall the far more generous conception of the character of Margaret formed by Scott in *Anne of Geierstein*.

Mr Fleay has justly remarked of the scene which contains the death of Cardinal Beaufort (as it appears in 2 Henry VI) that not even in Shakspere is there a death-scene of despair equal to it. The scene as given in the Contention is virtually the same. The only description of a death-bed that can be compared to it in horror is that last scene in Faust, where Marlowe describes the dying moments of a man who had gained the whole world and lost his own soul.

Turning next from Marlowe's characters to the characters of Greene:-Duke Humphrey I believe to be in a measure his, and also the Duchess Eleanor, Clarence, Edward IV (whom we may compare with Greene's James IV), Elizabeth, whose bright wit and readiness at repartee recall to our thoughts Greene's Ida, and Sir John Hume, who is not unlike Greene's Orgalio. Observe how Hume and Orgalio both flutter their unhappy dupes in like fashion :-

"Orgalio. God save your Majesty! Sacripant. My Majesty! . . . Whom takest thou me to be?" Orlando, Dyce's ed. 93. i.

"Sir John. Jesus preserve your Majesty! Elnor. My Majesty! Why man, I am but grace!" Cont. ii. 49, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 10, l. 15.

Jack Cade I suppose to have been created by Greene. But I do not know of any special character in Greene's plays whom I can name as affording an exact parallel. Cade is a man reckless, unscrupulous, even brutal; but a man of unflinching courage, and with a lively sense of humour; who was, and knew himself to be, superior to the idle, worthless rabble whom he led; who was not without a certain honesty of purpose, and who felt a scorn for the fickleness of his followers proportionate to his own consciousness how impossible it was that he should prove a traitor to his leader and instigator York. Still, though there is not a second Cade among Greene's undoubted characters, -out of the misanthropy of Bohan, the hot temper and jollity of Adam, the knavishness of Andrew, the ingenuity of Slipper, the fidelity of Nano, the honesty and wit of Jenkin, and the valour of George-a-Green, a Jack Cade might well be constructed. Cade's followers, Will and Dick and Robin, may be fitly compared with Slipper or Jenkin, or the townsmen and shoe-makers

in the Pinner of Wakefield. One may liken the aside comments of George and Nick, &c., with regard to their captain when he boasts of his high birth (comments by no means flattering or gratifying) to the disclosures made by Slipper concerning his master, when Ateukin is trying to play the part of a courtier and a gentleman before the Countess of Arran and her daughter (James IV, Dyce, 197, 2).

In addition to the comic scenes of the Contention—the scenes where the Duchess of Gloster seeks to dip into the future by means of curious arts, the trial of the Duchess, the death of Suffolk, I think are by Greene; and in the True Tragedy, the scene between King Edward and Lady Grey—(a scene which recalls certain parts of his James IV)—as well as scenes 9, 12, 16, 23. But it is not so easy as in Marlowe's case,—and I think it is not desirable—to lay down decisively that such parts of the plays were written by Greene. There is much more that is individual and subjective in the writings of Marlowe than in the writings of Greene. From the external and internal evidence given above, I conclude that Greene was in part the author of the Contention and True Tragedy. But it is difficult, owing to the somewhat negative qualities of his manner and method, to say positively that he wrote such scenes or created such characters.

d. As it has been thought by many that Peele was one of the writers of the Contention and True Tragedy, I take occasion to remark in passing, that some of the scenes which I have just ascribed to Greene might possibly have been written by Peele. I give in a note the arguments which might be urged in support of the opinion that he had a share in the Contention and True Tragedy².

¹ Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 152, 163, 170, 186.

² i. Peele was one of the dramatists whom Greene addressed in the Greatsworth of Wit when he complained of "the upstart crow beautified with our feathers."

ii. The grammatical structure of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and of Peele's writings is in many respects alike: e. g., in the use of "for to" with an infinitive which occurs in his *Edward I* oftener than in either the *Contention* or the *True Tragedy* (vide 380, I; 386, II; 408, I; 411, II; 412, I; 413, I, Dyce's edition of Peele's works).

"For to," Sir Clyomen and Sir Clamydes, Dyce's edition.

for to aspire, Prologue.

for to observe, for to pass, p. 491. 2

for to slay, for to kill, for to go,
p. 492.

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1 for to drive, for to win, p. 493.
for to know, p. 494.
for to spend, for to have, for to adore, p. 495.

It will be observed that I am leaving this part of my subject without making any absolute division of the Contention and True

1	to upbraid, for to say, p. 517. 4	
2	for to frame, p. 519.	
1	for to bedew, for to die, p. 520. 2	
2		
	for to release, for to be seen for	
-		
1		
î		
1		
1		
-		
2	for to advance, for to persuade,	
2	p. 529.	
	for to shew, p. 530.	
3		
1		
- 1		
_	101 to spy, p. 000,	
4	77	
4		
	1 2 4 2 1 1 1 1 3 2 2 3 1 4 2 4	1 for to bedew, for to die, p. 520. 2 for to make, for to try, p. 521. 2 for to release, for to be seen, for to be, p. 522. 3 for to stand, p. 523. 1 for to aid (here certainly an interpolation), p. 524, for to end. 1 for to suppress, p. 527. 1 for to inform, for to see, for to hear, p. 528. 3 for to advance, for to persuade, p. 529. 2 for to shew, p. 530. 1 for to be before, for to use, for to usurp, for to be, for to end, p. 531. 5 for to keep, for to lie, p. 532. 2 for to spy, p. 533. 1 4

In the Arraignment of Paris, "for to" occurs four times.

iii. There is a certain resemblance of thought and expression between Q. Margaret's words in T. T. xxii. 1, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 180, l. 1, and Q. Elinor's words in Edw. I, p. 411, col. i. l. 20, &c.; between the lines:

"As I bethink me, you should not be king
Till our king Henry had shook hands with death."

T. T., p. 131, Sh. Soc. (1843) Reprints;

and:

"If holy David so shook hands with sin,
What shall our baser spirits glory in?"

David and Bethsabe, Dyce's edition, p. 470-1.

between:

"Nay, if thou be that princely eagle bird, Shew thy descent by gazing on the sun." T. T., p. 135, Sh. Soc. (1843) Reprints;

and:

"And as the eagle roused from her stand, emboldened With eyes intentive to bedare the sun."

David and Bethsabe, p. 484, I.

The line:

"Even to my death, for I have lived too long."

Cont. vii. 10, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 27, l. 22, may be copied from:

"Haste, death, for Joan hath lived too long."—Edw. I, 414.
iv. It has also been said that Peele may have aided Marlowe in creating (nay, may himself have created) some of the great characters of the Conten.

Tragedy into Greene and Marlowe scenes. I abstain from doing so deliberately and of set purpose. Two reasons cause me to hold back from the attempt.

tion and True Tragedy, for that he could delineate character better than

But this I totally deny. Marlowe.

v. There is considerable similarity between the style of some of the best passages of the Cont. and T. T., and of some parts of Peele's plays—that is, of Peele's plays when he is writing at his best. The likeness is not in structure or in expression, but in the rhythm, the ring, the general run of the lines. Compare together the following passages:

> " Cusay. Though wise Achitophel be much more meet To purchase hearing with my lord the king, For all his former counsels than myself, Yet, not offending Absalon or him, This time it is not good nor worth pursuit; For, well thou know'st, thy father's men are strong, Chafing as she-bears robbed of their whelps: Besides, the king himself, a valiant man, Train'd up in feats and stratagems of war; And will not, for prevention of the worst, Lodge with the common soldiers in the field; But now, I know, his wonted policies Have taught him lurk within some secret cave, Guarded with all his stoutest soldiers: Which, if the forefront of his battle faint. Will yet give out that Absalon doth fly, And so thy soldiers be discouraged: David himself withal, whose angry heart Is as a lion letted of his walk, Will fight himself, and all his men to one, Before a few shall vanquish him by fear. My counsel therefore is, with trumpet's sound To gather men from Dan to Bethsabe, That they may march in number like sea-sands, That nestle close in one another's neck; So shall we come upon him in our strength, Like to the dew that falls in showers from heaven, And leave him not a man to march withal," Peele's David and Bethsabe, p. 477, II., Dyce's edition.

" Clifford. My gracious lord, this too much lenity And harmful pity must be laid aside, To whom do lions cast their gentle looks? Not to the beast who would usurp their den. Whose hand is that the savage bear doth lick? Not he that spoils his young before his face. Who scapes the lurking serpents' mortal sting? Not he that sets his foot upon her back. The smallest worm will turn being trodden on, And doves will peck in rescue of their brood. Ambitious York did level at the crown, Thou smiling, while he knit his angry brows,

- (a) I feel by no means certain that Peele was not one of the writers of the Contention and True Tragedy. Many people believe that he was. I may possibly myself come to think so. Were I then to divide the scenes of the Contention and True Tragedy between Marlowe and Greene, I must inevitably ascribe to one of the two, parts which others might think, on perhaps better grounds, there was good reason to ascribe to Peele.
- (3) But what has deterred me more than anything else from making the attempt, is my strong conviction that in the majority of cases it is next to impossible for any person-with only the evidence of style to guide him-to lay it down dogmatically, with assurance, that such particular lines were written by such a particular writer. In many of the scenes of the Contention and True Tragedy the attempt is an especially hopeless one, for there is not any single test which we can call to our aid. Even Mr Grant White's "for to" test (" Greene-his mark" as he calls it)-though it proves, I think, Greene's share in the plays—is of little assistance in ascertaining what parts are by Marlowe, and what parts by Greene, since some of the "for to's" may be Marlowe's (or some Peele's, if Peele was one of the writers). Thus, any opinion which might be expressed as to the authorship of the various scenes of the Contention and True Tragedy must be purely subjective—the result of personal feeling. Such an opinion could only be of value to others if the judgment of the writer had been tried and proved by experience.

My work at Marlowe and Greene has led me to think that Greene

He, but a duke, would have his son a king,
And raise his issue like a loving sire.
Thou, being a king, blest with a goodly son,
Didst give consent to disinherit him,
Which argued thee a most unnatural father.
Unreasonable creatures feed their young,
And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,
Yet in protection of their tender ones,
Who hath not seen them, even with those same wings,
Which they have sometime used in fearful flight,
Make war with him that climbs unto their nest,
Offering their own lives in their young's defence.
For shame, my lord, make them your precedent."

T. T., Sh, Soc. (1843) Reprints, p. 139.

If our reason is not, our ears at least are almost persuaded by such a passage as the one just quoted, that Peele must have aided in writing the *Cont*, and *T. T.*

not seldom imitates the style and copies the characters of Marlowe. This would not be a fitting place for me to offer arguments in support of my opinion. But if the supposition be well founded this would increase ten-fold the difficulty of discriminating between Marlowe's and Greene's parts in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*

e. How men's judgments may differ with regard to the style of these very plays has been shown, within the last year, by the conclusion arrived at by one of the latest writers on the Henry VIth problem—Mr Ward. Thus he writes: "That Greene had no share in the old plays on which the 2nd and 3rd Parts of Henry VI were founded, will, I think, be evident to any one capable of judging of differences of styles 1; and it is unnecessary to waste further words on the supposition" (Hist. of Dramatic Lit., vol. i. p. 224. See too 369-72). And yet a host of men out of the past and present have declared it to "be evident to any one capable of judging of differences of styles," that Greene had a share in the "old plays on which the 2nd and 3rd parts of Henry VI were founded." To my own mind, judging by their style, and by their style only, the Contention and True Tragedy afford unmistakable proofs of Greene's handiwork. I will place a few passages taken from these, beside passages taken from Greene's undoubted plays, and leave the reader to judge whether or not the style of the Contention and True Tragedy resembles the style of the latter:

"York. Now York, bethink thyself and rouse thee up, Take time whilst it is offered thee so fair,
Lest when thou wouldst thou canst it not attain,
"Twas men I lackt and now they give them me,
And now whilst I am busy in Ireland,
I have seduced a headstrong Kentish-man,
John Cade of Ashford,
Under the title of John Mortemer,
To raise commotion, and by that means
I shall perceive how the common people
Do affect the claim and House of York, &c."
Cont. sc. ix. 169—on, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 38, l. 14.

In a letter to me, Prof. Ward says, "I had not, when writing the passage on Henry VI, read what Grant White says on the subject. This is evident on the surface, inasmuch as I refer to other critics on the point, and not to him."—F, J. F.

"Manning. Why, men of Wakefield, are you waxen mad, That present danger cannot whet your wits, Wisely to make provision of yourselves? The earl is thirty thousand men strong in power, And what town so-ever him resist He lays it flat and level with the ground; Ye silly men, ye seek your own decay: Therefore Send my lord such provision as he wants, So he will spare your town, And come no nearer Wakefield than he is."

George-a-Greene, Dyce's ed. 254. i.

"York. Now Clifford, since we are singled here alone, Be this the day of doom to one of us,
For now my heart hath sworn immortal hate
To thee, and all the House of Lancaster.

Clifford. And here I stand and pitch my foot to thine,
Vowing never to stir, till thou or I be slain.
For never shall my heart be safe at rest

Till I have spoiled the hateful House of York. Cont. xxiii. 32—39, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 69, l. 24—on,

"George. I'll prove it good upon your carcases,
A wiser wizard never met you yet,
Nor one that better could foredoom your fall.
Now I have singled you here alone
I care not though you be three to one.

Kendal. Villain, hast thou betrayed us?
George. Momford thou liest pe'er was I treiter.

George. Momford, thou liest, ne'er was I traitor yet; Only devised this guile to draw you on

For to be combatants.

Now conquer me and then march on to London:

It shall go hard but I will hold you task.

Armstrong, Come, my lord, cheerly, I'll

Armstrong. Come, my lord, cheerly, I'll kill him hand to hand.

Kendal. A thousand pounds to him that strikes that stroke.

Kendal. A thousand pounds to him that strikes that stroke. George. Then give it me, for I will have the first!"

George-a-Greene, Dyce, 261, ii.

"Edward. Once more we sit in England's royal throne Repurchased with the blood of enemies, What valiant foe-man like to autumn's corn Have we mowed down in tops of all their pride? Three Dukes of Somerset, threefold renowned For hardy and undoubted champions.

Two Cliffords as the father and the son, And two Northumberlands, two braver men Ne're spurr'd their coursers at the trumpet's sound

With them the two rough bears, Warwick and Montague, That in their chains fettered the kingly lion, And made the forest tremble when they roared, Thus have we swept suspicion from our seat, And made our footstool of security."

True Tragedy, sc. xxiii, and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 186, l. 21.

"Media. Fausta, what means this sudden flight of yours? Why do you leave your husband's princely court, And all alone pass through these thickest groves, More fit to harbour brutish savage beasts
Than to receive so high a queen as you?
Although your credit would not stay your steps
From bending them into these darkest dens,
Yet should the danger which is imminent
To every one which passeth by these paths,
Keep you at home with fair Ipigena.
What foolish toy hath tickled you to this?
I greatly fear some hap hath hit amiss."

Alphonsus, Dyce's ed. 237, i.

IV. It remains for me to show that there is good ground, that there is, indeed, every reason, for believing that it was Shakspere who out of the Contention and True Tragedy created the 2nd and 3rd parts of Henry VI. The amount of rime in Shakspere's early plays—even in his historical play of Richard II—might be an argument against the Shaksperian authorship of Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, did we not believe that they were founded on older plays in which but little rime appears. Even were there no other evidence, the unity of design and of character between Shakspere's Richard III and the Henry VI plays would suggest that they must have proceeded from one and the same mind. General tradition declares the plays to be by Shakspere; the open and clamorous charges made by his rivals suggest that they are his; and internal evidence, as I am now about to show, goes far to prove the same result :- The great verses which sum up the character of Richard are identical in the True Tragedy and in 3 Henry VI.

"I had no father; I am like no father.
I have no brothers; I am like no brothers.
And this word love, which grey beards term divine,
Be resident in men like one another,
And not in me: I am myself alone."

T. T. xxii. 69-73, and Sh. Soc. Rep. (1843), p. 186, ll. 6-10.

Mr Swinburne has observed how with admirable judgment the reiteration which precedes the line:

> "I have no brother, I am like no brother." 3 Henry VI, V. vi. 80.

is struck out in the revised play. "We have here," he thinks, "a perfect example of the manner in which Shakspere dealt with the text of Marlowe." Another, no less sure, mark of Shakspere's hand, we find in the words spoken by the Duchess of Gloster, when-her penance performed-Stanley is conducting her to her place of banishment:

> n. "Go, lead the way—I long to see my prison 1." 2 Henry VI, II. iv. 110.

The impatience of a proud spirit wishful to know the worst.

The opening lines, also, of 2 Henry VI, III. ii., which correspond with the opening lines of sc. x. in the Contention, Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 39, have surely been revised and added to by Shakspere.

"1. Murderer. Run to my lord of Suffolk; let him know n.

We have dispatched the duke as he commanded. n.

2. Mur. Oh that it were to do! what have we done? n.

Didst ever see a man so penitent? n.

1. Mur. Here comes my lord. n. Suffolk. Now sirs have you dispatch'd this thing? a.

a.

1. Mur. Ay, my good lord, he's dead.
Suffolk. Why that's well said. Go, get you to my house; n.

I will reward you for this venturous deed, a. The king and all the peers are here at hand. a.

Have you laid fair the bed ? Is all things well, a.

According as I gave direction? n. 1. Mur. 'Tis, my good lord. a. Suffolk. Away! be gone." a.

Turn now to the corresponding scene in the Contention. Of the first five lines we find no trace, and then we read:

"Suffolk. How now, sirs, what have you dispatcht him?

1. I, my lord, he's dead I warrant you.

Suffolk. Then see the clothes laid smooth about him still That when the king comes, he may perceive

In this and the following pages I have placed an 'n' before any lines of 2 and 3 Henry VI which are new. An 'a' before a line shews that the line is an altered form of a line found in the Contention or True Tragedy. lines which were transcribed without change I have left unmarked.

No other but that he died of his own accord.

2. All things is handsome now, my lord.

Suffolk. Then draw the curtains again, and get you gone, And you shall have your firm reward anon."

Again, the changes made in the words spoken by Margery Jourdain in I. iv. of *Henry VI*, Part 2, seem like touches added by Shakspere's hand:

n. "M. Jourdain. Till thou speak, thou shalt not pass from thence.
n. Spirit. Ask what thou wilt.—That I had said and done!"

This last line recalls the unwillingness and reluctance of the apparition in *Macbeth*:

"Beware the Thane of Fife. Dismiss me—enough!"—IV. i. 72.

The line is not found in the Contention.

The comparison of Salisbury's brave soul to "rich hangings in a homely house," is a beautiful, and I think a Shaksperian, simile:

n. "And like rich hangings in a homely house

n. So was his will in his old feeble body."

2 Henry VI, V. iii. 12.

Many of the epithets, verbal expressions and phrases, which occur in the *Henry VI* plays are akin to or identical with those of Shakspere's undoubted works. In *Venus and Adonis* occurs the epithet 'ill-nurtured':

"Ill-nurtured, crooked, churlish, harsh in voice."

It is found also in 2 Henry VI1:

n. "Presumptuous dame, ill-nurtured Eleanor."—I. ii. 42.

Compare with the words in Coriolanus:

"The man I speak of cannot in this world Be singly counterpoised."—II. ii, 91,

the lines in 2 Henry VI:

n. "The lives of those which we have lost in fight

n. Be counterpoised with such a petty sum."—IV. i. 21, 22.

Compare the line:

"It cannot be but thou hast murdered him."

Midsummer Night's Dream, III. ii.,

¹ The epithet 'ill-nurtured' occurs in Greene's Pinner of Wakefield, Dyce's edition, 267, 2.

with the line:

a. "It cannot be but he was murdered here."

2 Henry VI, III. ii. 177.

Compare with the words of Margaret in Henry VI, Part 2,

n. "If you be ta'en, we then should see the bottom

n. Of all our fortunes."-V. ii. 78,

the following lines in 1 Henry IV:

"For therein should we read
The very bottom and the soul of hope,
The very list, the very utmost bound
Of all our fortunes."—IV. i.

Throughout his writings, Shakspere often uses an adjective in the place of a substantive. In *Venus and Adonis* we have: "A sudden pale usurps her cheek." In the *Tempest*, "The vast of night." In Julius Casar, "The deep of night." So in Henry VI, Part 2, I. iv. 15: "Deep night, dark night, the silent of the night;" while in the Contention the corresponding line has: "The silence of the night."

The third part of Henry VI underwent¹ a much less thorough revision than the second. Out of 3075 lines, there are in Part 2 some 1715 new lines; some 840 altered lines (many but very slightly altered); and some 520 old lines. In Part 3, out of 2902 lines there are about 1021 new lines; about 871 altered lines, and about 1010 old lines². Hence it is that in Part 3 there are fewer resemblances of thought and verbal expression to Shakspere's undoubted writings than in Part 2. Here, however, are a few examples:—

- (a) Take the use of the verb "to budge," as applied to the retreat of an army in *Henry VI*, Part 3, and in *Coriolanus*.
 - n. "With this we charged again; but, out, alas!
 n. We budged again."—3 Hen. VI, I. iv. 19.
 - "The mouse ne'er shunned the cat, as they did budge From rascals worse than they."—Cor. I. vi. 44.
 - (β) The verb "to look upon," meaning "to act the part of spec-

and needed, says Mr G. White.

² This calculation does not agree exactly with either that of Malone or of Mr Grant White. Malone's is certainly inaccurate. My own I have made with all the care I could.

PARTS 2 AND 3 OF HEN. VI, AND THEIR ORIGINALS. § IV. 267

tators," which we find in Richard II is found also in Henry VI, Part 3:

"Nay all of you that stand and look upon, Whilst that my wretchedness doth bait myself."

Rich. II, IV. i. 237.

n. "Why stand we like soft hearted women here, wailing our losses, whilst the foe doth rage;

n. And look upon, as if the tragedy

n. Were played in jest by counterfeiting actors."

3 Hen. VI, II. iii. 27.

- (γ) The verb to "misthink" used by Shakspere in Antony and Cleopatra comes also in Henry VI, Part 3:
 - "Be it known that we the greatest are misthought For things that others do."—Ant. and Cleo. V. ii. 176.
 - a. "How will the country, for these woful chances,

a. Misthink the king."—3 Hen. VI, II. v. 108.

In the *True Tragedy* we have here "misdeem" instead of "misthink."

(δ) Again, compare in Love's Labours Lost:

"When icicles hang by the wall, And Dick the shepherd blows his nails."—V. ii. song,

n. "What time the shepherd blowing of his nails."

3 Hen. VI, II. v. 3.

(ε) We may, also, compare together the following lines from Romeo and Juliet, the Lover's Complaint 1, and As You Like It, with a passage in Henry VI, Part 3, V. iv. 6.

In Romeo and Juliet:

"With tears augmenting the fresh morning dew."—I. i. 138

In Lover's Complaint:

"Upon whose weeping margin she was set Like Usury applying wet to wet."—Il. 39, 40;

and in 3 Hen. VI,

with:

n. "Is't meet that he

n. Should leave the helm, and, like a fearful lad,

n. With tearful eyes add water to the sea 2?"

¹ I am told that Mr Swinburne declares this poem spurious.

In Titus Andronicus we read :

"What fool hath added water to the sea, Or brought a faggot to bright burning Troy."—III, i, 68. And as the same thought appears in As You Like It:

"Thou makest a testament
As worldlings do, giving the sum of more
To that which hath too much."—II. i. 47;

and in 3 Hen. VI:

n. "Add water to the sea,

n. And give more strength to that which hath too much."
V. iv. 8

Internal evidence thus points to the hand of Shakspere. Moreover Shakspere himself claims the plays as his own. For, what other inference than that Shakspere claimed for himself the authorship of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, can be drawn from the fact that they are found in the first printed collection of his undoubted plays—a collection which was made by his intimate friends Heminge and Condell¹. The language used by Shakspere in the Epilogue to *Henry V* is even more decisive:

".... the world's best garden he achieved,
And of it left his son imperial lord.
Henry the sixth, in infant bands crowned king
Of France and England, did this king succeed:
Whose state so many had the managing,
That they lost France and made our England bleed,
Which oft our stage hath shewn; and for their sake,
In your fair minds let this acceptance take."

Would Shakspere have thus written of the plays of any other man? I should like to go through the *Henry VI* plays scene by scene, and point to the added lines and passages in each which I instinctively feel to be Shakspere's; but space would fail, and I must content myself with pointing to a few instances which may serve to illustrate the rest.

Take Gloster's spirited speech in 2 Henry VI, I. i., describing the "common grief of all the land"—where Shakspere's patriotism and public spirit shine clearly forth. How different is it from the unanimated, unimpassioned language of the Gloster of the Contention!

¹ But *Henry VI*, Part 1, and *Titus Andronicus* are in the First Folio. Because this is so, I feel little doubt that Shakspere had some share in both plays.

Or, take Margaret's speech—2 Henry VI, I. iii.—where Shakspere's unequalled power of delineating and discriminating character is forcibly manifested. I have said that I am glad to think that the Margaret of the Henry VI plays was first conceived by Marlowe, not by Shakspere. With what skill, then, does Shakspere re-mould and develop a conception which was not originally his own! Surely it is Shakspere who here sets before us with a few strokes of his pen the pitiable weakness of the saintly King, and the lovelessness of the wife who thus laughs to scorn the failings of her husband:

a. "I thought King Henry had resembled thee

n. In courage, courtship, and proportion;

n. But all his mind is bent to holiness—
n. To number Ave-Maries on his beads;

n. His champions are—the prophets and apostles;

n. His weapons, holy saws of sacred writ;

n. His study is his tilt-yard, and his lovesn. Are brazen images of canonized saints.

n. I would the College of Cardinals

n. Would choose him pope, and carry him to Rome,

n. And set the triple crown upon his head;

n. That were a state fit for his holiness."

2 Hen. VI, I. iii.

Turn now to the additions made to the latter part of sc. iii., Act I., of 2 Hen. VI. Suffolk, Cardinal Beaufort, Somerset, Buckingham, the Queen, hurl accusations against Gloster: He is Protector, and therefore the Dauphin has prevailed beyond the seas; the peers have been made subject to his sovereignty; the commons have been racked; the clergy's bags are lean and lank; his sumptuous buildings and his wife's attire have cost a mass of public treasure; his sale of offices and towns in France, were they known, would quickly make him lose his head.

At these charges Gloster as ever "bears him like a noble gentleman." He will not answer hastily: he goes out, and then returns and speaks with calmness:

n. "Now, lords, my choler being overblown

n. With walking once about the quadranglen. I come to talk of commonwealth affairs.

n. As for your spiteful false objections,

- n. Prove them, and I lie open to the law:
- n. But God in mercy so deal with my soul,
- n. As I in duty love my king and country!
- n. But to the matter that we have in hand:
- n. I say, my sovereign, York is meetest man
- n. To be your regent in the realm of France.

2 Henry VI, I. iii.

Listen to the deep pathos of the words spoken by the Duchess of Gloster when she is parted from her husband and hurried into ignominious banishment:

- Duchess. a. "Art thou gone too?" n. "All comfort go with thee!
 - n. For none abides with me: my joy is death;
 - n. Death at whose name I oft have been afeared:-
 - n. Because I wished this world's eternity.
- Stanley. n. Madam, your penance done, throw off this sheet,
- n. And go we to attire you for your journey.
- Duchess. a. My shame will not be shifted with my sheet;
 - n. No, it will hang upon my richest robes,n. And shew itself attire me how I can.
 - n. Go, lead the way: I long to see my prison."

2 Henry VI, II. iv.1

We seem to see these scenes as vividly, and to hear the voices as distinctly, as if we ourselves were carried back to the fifteenth century—into the midst of the jealous nobles, or as spectators of the departure of the Duchess in her misery. No other writer ever possessed in an equal degree the power of giving form to the thoughts which his imagination had pictured—of calling up scenes, of summoning characters before the very eyes of his hearers. The few instances here given of the vivid power of characterization, peculiar to Shakspere, displayed in the *Henry VI* plays, have all been taken from the early scenes of the second part; but any one acquainted with the plays will readily recall many more and equally striking examples.

In every respect the 2nd and 3rd parts of *Henry VI* are finer and more perfectly developed dramas than their originals. The whole form and spirit of the plays is altered. Careless, slipshod lines are cut out; trivial, unnecessary details are omitted; gross, historical blunders

¹ With the grandeur of these lines contrast the poverty of thought in the corresponding lines of the *Contention*, Camb. Shak. sc. viii. 72; Shak. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 32.

are swept away; the rhythm of the lines is more musical; the diction more elevated; the action more fully matured: above all, the characters in every instance stand out more distinctly. Every scene has been more or less changed; and every change made is a change for the better. Shakspere has gathered the wheat into his garner, and has cast the chaff away.

I have said that I consider Marlowe to have been, at this period, a greater poet than Shakspere, and in here attributing to Shakspere the special excellencies of the Henry VI plays I have endeavoured carefully to discriminate between the qualities in which Marlowe seems to me to have excelled, and the qualities in which, in common with all the world, I hold Shakspere to have been (even in early life) preëminent.

But did Shakspere work alone, or is it admissible to believe that in his work of revision and re-formation Marlowe was his fellowworker? Certain it is that Marlowe's peculiar style appears as distinctly in the reformed as in the unreformed plays. It is hard to believe that any hand but Marlowe's wrote the following lines:

- n. "The gaudy, blabbing, and remorseful day
- n. Is crept into the bosom of the sea;
- And now loud howling wolves arouse the jades n.
- That drag the tragic melancholy night, n.
- Who with their drowsy, slow, and tragic wings n. Clip dead men's graves, and from their misty jaws n.
- Breathe foul contagious darkness in the air." n.

2 Henry VI, IV. i.

Of these lines there is no trace in the Contention. The savage words spoken by Iden when he slays Cade and gloats over the death of "a poor famished man" are more like the author of Tamburlaine than 'gentle' Shakspere. Cade dies saying: "I that never feared am vanquished by famine and not by valour." Then Iden speaks:

- n. "Die, damned wretch, the curse of her that bare thee,
- And as I thrust thy body in with my sword, So wish I, I might thrust thy soul to hell!
- n.
- Hence will I drag thee headlong by the heels a.
- Unto a dung-hill which shall be thy grave, n.
- And there cut off thy most ungracious head, a.

- n. Which I will bear in triumph to the king,
- n. Leaving thy trunk for crows to feed upon."

2 Henry VI, IV. x. 83-90.

The beauty and harmony of more than one passage in the *Henry VI* plays is marred by the introduction of some exaggerated sentiment or far-fetched allusion. For example, in York's speech, 2 *Henry VI*, V. i., the lines:

- n. "Oh, I could hew up rocks, and fight with flint,
- a. I am so angry at these abject terms;
- n. And now, like Ajax Telamonius,
- n. On sheep or oxen could I spend my fury!"

or, again, in Clifford's speech, 2 Henry VI, V. ii., the lines:

- n. "Meet I an infant of the house of York,
- n. Into as many gobbets will I cut it
- n. As wild Medea young Absyrtus did";

are certainly more in accordance with the unreflecting impetuosity of Marlowe's style than with Shakspere's generally unerring good taste.

Besides those passages which are distinctly in Marlowe's manner there are in the two plays lines which have been closely imitated from lines in Marlowe's Jew of Malta, Edward II, and Massacre at Paris. In the Jew of Malta, III. ii., the Governor of Malta, on finding Ludowick slain, exclaims:

"What sight is this?—My Ludowick slain!
These arms of mine shall be thy sepulchre!"

In 3 Henry VI, II. v. 114, 115, the father who has slain his son exclaims:

n. "These arms of mine shall be thy winding sheet,

n. My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre."

In Edw. II, I. iv., it is said of Gaveston:

"He wears a lord's revenue on his back."

In 2 Henry VI, I. iii. 78, the Queen says of the Duchess of Gloster:

n. "She wears a duke's revenue on her back."

Again, in Edward II, II. ii:

"Whose mounting thoughts did never creep so low As to bestow a look on such as you;"

and in 2 Henry VI, I. ii. 15,

n. "And never more abase our sight so low

n. As to vouchsafe one glance unto the ground."

Also in The Massacre at Paris:

"And we are graced with wreaths of victory."—II. vi. 2; and in 3 Henry VI:

a. "Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,

a. And we are graced with wreaths of victory."—V. iii. 1, 2.

(These lines are of course not found in the Contention or the True Tragedy.)

The curious verb "to fore slow" occurs in Marlowe's Edward II, and in 3 Henry VI:

"Foreslow no time, sweet Lancaster; let's march."

Edward II, II. iv.

n. "Foreslow no longer; make we hence amain." 3 Henry VI, II. iii. last line.

There is nothing inherently improbable in the supposition that Shakspere and Marlowe re-wrote the plays together. To suppose it, removes from Shakspere the unjust reproach of plagiarism which Greene and others have flung in his teeth; and which Mr Knight holds (somewhat unnecessarily) would attach to him if he were not the author of the plays in their original state. Shakspere was in many points Marlowe's faithful disciple. There is a sort of traditional feeling that they were friends—due to the kindly manner in which Shakspere speaks of Marlowe in As You Like It:

"Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might: 'He never loved, that loved not at first sight."

Some community of feeling and action may perhaps be inferred from Chettle's remarks in *Kind-Harts Dreame*, which seem to imply that in the matter of the *Groatsworth of Wit*, Shakspere and Marlowe felt anger in common and took action in common: "because on the dead they cannot be auenged, they wilfully forged in their conceites a liuing Author: and after tossing it two and fro, no

remedy, but it must light on me." (Kind-Harts Dreame, To the Gentlemen Readers, p. 38, ll. 1—4; reprinted for the New Sh. Soc.)

Marlowe is one of the two contemporary poets from whom Shakspere quotes or copies lines. Besides the line just given from As You Like It: "he never loved that loved not at first sight," which is taken from Marlowe's Hero and Leander, we find two lines, each from the True Tragedy,—lines which in my opinion were written by Marlowe, and which also appear in 3 Henry VI,—imitated by Shakspere, one of the lines in Macbeth, and one in Romeo and Juliet.

- (1) In the True Tragedy, Margaret in her anguish at the murder of her son exclaims:
- "You have no children—devils, if you had,
 The thought of them would then have stopt your rage."
 T. T. xxi. 94, Camb. Sh., and Sh. Soc. Reprints (1843), p. 183, l. 6.

In Macbeth, Macduff, when he hears of the slaughter of his children, cries aloud: "He has no children."—IV. iii. 216.

- (2) Shakspere puts a parody of the often quoted line:
 - "Oh tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide"

into Juliet's mouth when she says:

"Oh serpent's heart hid with a flowering face."

Romeo and Juliet, III. ii.

Further: two lines from 2 Tamburlaine are transplanted into 2 Henry IV; a line from Edward II into Romeo and Juliet; and one from Faust into Troylus and Cressida.

The lines:

"Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!
What! can ye draw but twenty miles a day?"

2 Tam. IV. iv. 1,

which begin an extravagant address spoken by Tamburlaine to two captive kings who draw his chariot, Shakspere in a spirit of malicious fun and mockery makes Pistol speak to Mrs Quickly:

"These be good humours, indeed! Shall pack-horses
And hollow pampered jades of Asia,
Which cannot go but thirty miles a day"

2 Henry IV, II. iv.

PARTS 2 AND 3 OF HEN. VI, AND THEIR ORIGINALS. § IV, V. 275

The line "Gallop apace bright Phæbus thro' the sky," Edward II, IV. iii., is copied in Romeo and Juliet:

"Gallop apace ye fiery-footed steeds Toward Phœbus mansion."—III. ii.

The words: "Was this the face that launched a thousand ships And burst the topless towers of Ilium."

Faust, V. iii.

reappear (and spoiled, I think) in Troylus and Cressida:

"Why she is a pearl Whose price hath launched above a thousand ships."—II. ii.

Careful study has convinced me that the *Henry VI* plays, in their reformed and revised state, were not written by Shakspere unaided and alone. It is not, indeed, possible for us to do more than conjecture who his fellow-worker may have been. The foregoing remarks show that there is, at least, nothing unreasonable, or even improbable, in supposing his fellow-worker to have been Marlowe. I have not proved this; nor can it, in my opinion, be proved with our present knowledge. But could Marlowe's share in the work be demonstrated, it would, I think, go far to remove the mystery which hangs round the authorship of the *Henry VI* plays.

I began this paper by putting to myself the several questions which are included in the one question, "Who wrote Henry VI?" I will end it by gathering together in a few words the several answers which I have offered. I believe that Shakspere was the author of Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, and that there is some ground for concluding that Marlowe was his fellow worker: that Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, were written about the year 1590: that they were not original plays, but were founded on certain older plays known as the Contention and the True Tragedy: and that Marlowe and Greene, and possibly Peele, were the writers of these older plays, which were written some time, perhaps some years, before the 2nd and 3rd Parts of Henry VI.

V. Before I leave the subject, I wish to present in one view the conclusions which have been adopted by the best-known Shaksperian scholars:—

- I. Shakspere was the author of all four Plays.
- a. (1) Theobald says of 2 and 3 Henry VI, that: "they contain that troublesome Period of this Prince's Reign which took in the whole Contention betwixt the two Houses of York and Lancaster: And under that Title were these two Plays first acted and printed" (The Works of Shakespeare by Mr Theobald, 1757, vol. iv. p. 5). At the end of vol. viii. he gives a table of Shakspere's Plays in which appear the Contention and the True Tragedy.
- (2) Johnson and Steevens think the Contention and True Tragedy are imperfect reports of Shakspere's Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, filled up by the reporter.
- (3) Mr Knight thinks the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are Shakspere's early sketches of *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3. (Essay on *Henry VI* Plays in Ch. Knight's Pictorial Shakspeare.)
- (4) Mr Kenny (see his *Life and Genius of Shakespeare*) thinks that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, were written by Shakspere only, and that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were copies obtained surreptitiously.
- (5) Ulrici calls the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* the first youthful endeavours of Shakspere in the field of the historical drama,—the first sketches for the trilogy of *Henry VI*; but thinks that in the earliest impressions they have come down to us only in a mutilated and corrupt condition. (Shakspeare's Dramatic Art, vol. ii., Bohn's Ed., 1876.)
- (6) Delius thinks the same; and seeks to account for the imperfection of the plays as printed, by supposing them to have been obtained by the publisher, from actors, and possibly manipulated by some subordinate poet.¹
- β . Shakspere wrote 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, and took part in writing the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.
- (1) Mr Halliwell thinks that the Contention and True Tragedy when printed in 1594 and 1595, contained the first additions made by Shakspere to originals as yet undiscovered, while Henry VI,

^{&#}x27; For the opinion of Delius I am modelted to Mr Ward; see his "Hist. of Dramatic Lit.," vol. i.

Parts 2 and 3, contain his later additions. (Sh. Soc. Reprints, 1843. First sketches of 2 and 3 Henry VI, p. xix.)

- (2) Mr Staunton thinks the Contention and True Tragedy were not "the production of a preceding writer, but were Shakespeare's first sketches (surreptitiously and inaccurately printed) of what he subsequently rewrote, and entitled The Second and Third Parts of Henry VI." He does not, however, go the extreme length of ascribing the whole of the Cont. and T. T. to Shakspere. Much of them was probably taken from an earlier version by Greene. (The Plays of Shakespeare edited by Howard Staunton, vol. ii., p. 339, 1859.)
- (3) Messrs Clark and Wright believe 2 and 3 Henry VI to be by Shakspere, and say of the Contention and True Tragedy: "We cannot agree with Malone on the one hand, that they contain nothing of Shakspeare's, nor with Mr Knight on the other that they are entirely his work; there are so many internal proofs of his having had a considerable share in their composition, that in accordance with our principle we have reprinted them in a smaller type." (Camb. Ed. of Shakspeare, vol. v.)
- (4) Mr Grant White thinks that Shakspere wrote the Contention and True Tragedy in partnership with Marlowe and Greene (and perhaps Peele); and that in taking passages, and sometimes whole scenes, from these plays for his King Henry VI, he did little more than reclaim his own. (R. Grant White, Shakspeare's Works, vii. 462.)
- (5) Mr and Mrs Cowden Clarke appear to adopt the conclusion arrived at by Mr Halliwell—i. e. that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were Shakspere's first sketches for 2 and 3 *Henry VI*;—while they grant that until the original Plays upon which 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were based shall be discovered, all must be mere conjecture. (Cassell's Shakespeare, vol. ii., p. 355; edited by Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke.)
- (6) Mr Rives adopts the view of the question taken by Grant White. (Essay on the *Henry VI* Plays, by G. L. Rives, 1875.)
- (7) Mr Swinburne thinks that the first edition we possess of plays relating to Henry VI (i. e. Cont. 1594, True Tragedy, 1595) is a partial transcript of the text of those plays as it stood after the first

additions had been made by Shakspere to the original work of Marlowe and others. (Fortnightly Review for Jan., 1876.)

- II. Shakspere wrote only 2 and 3 Henry VI, and took no part in writing the Contention and True Tragedy.
- (1) Malone is of opinion that Greene and Peele wrote the Contention and True Tragedy; and that Shakspere working alone constructed the Henry VI plays out of them.
- (2) Chalmers (says Mr Collier in his Ed. of Shakespeare, vol. iv., p. 111, 1858) without scruple assigned the *True Tragedy* to Christopher Marlowe.
- (3) Mr Dyce strongly suspects that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written by Marlowe; and thinks that there is no reason to doubt that Shakspere re-wrote them. See Dyce's Ed. of Shakspere.
- (4) Hallam and Collier think that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, are by Shakspere; but that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are wholly by some one else. Collier decides in favour of Greene as the author. (Hallam's Hist. of European Literature, and J. P. Collier's Ed. of Shakespeare, vol. iv., p. 111, 1858.)
- (5) Gervinus agrees with Mr Collier, and in like manner decides in favour of Greene as the writer of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. (I quote from Ulrici, Shakspeare's Dramatic Art, vol. ii., p. 315.)
- (6) Dr Ingleby says that in his Paper in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1868, vol. ix, New Series, "On some traces of the Authorship of the works attributed to Shakspere," he arrived, but with some hesitation, at the same conclusions as I do.¹

¹ After declaring his conviction, that some day evidence will be found to establish Charles Knight's conjecture, "that Marlow [in "The Taming of A Shrew,"] and Shakspere [in "The Taming of The Shrew,"] used one and the same original in the composition of their dramas," Dr Ingleby says:

"I wish it were possible for us to see our way as clearly, in dealing with 'The First Part of the Contention' and 'The True Tragedie.' They seem to have been originally the joint compositions of Marlow and Robert Greene, not improbably touched by Shakespeare subsequently, and exhibiting those touches in the edition of 1619; anyhow, Marlow's hand is unmistakably apparent in both plays....

"I am, however, far from sure that the argument founded on these and other similarities between the 'Contention,' and the works of Marlow and of

- (7) Mr Ward thinks that Shakspere in *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, elaborated the two old plays of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*; but that the authorship of these remains unknown. Vol. i., p. 371.
- III. Shakspere wrote, wholly or in part, 2 and 3 Henry VI (no opinion on Contention and True Tragedy).
- (1) Farmer thinks that *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, were *not* wholly by Shakspere. Having quoted from the Epilogue to *Henry V* the line:
- "For their sakes in your fair minds let this acceptance take," he says that this would be impudent if the *Henry VI* plays were Shakspere's own.
 - (2) Tyrwhitt attributes the Henry VI plays to Shakspere.
 - IV. Shakspere had no part in any of the four Plays.

Mr Fleay thinks that Marlowe and Peele wrote Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, of which the Contention and True Tragedy are makeshift pirated versions. (Macmillan's Magazine, Nov. 1875.)

In writing my Paper I have received very kind help and encouragement from Mr Furnivall and Professor Dowden, for which I wish to express my gratitude.

Greene, would not go to prove that some of the very additions to the old plays in II and III 'Henry VI,' with which Shakespeare is credited, were the work of one or other of his contemporaries. I give one example to show what I mean. In II 'Henry VI,' i. 3, occurs the line:—

'She bears a duke's revenue on her back.'

In the 4to, 1619, of the 'First Part of the Contention,' the line stands thus:—
'She bears a duke's whole revenues on her back.'

but it is wholly wanting in the earlier editions; and it is this edition of 1619, which Mr Halliwell regards as an intermediate version, presenting Shakespeare's first draft of II 'Henry VI.' Now this very addition is almost wholly the property of Marlow, for in his 'Edward II,' we read,—

'He wears a lord's revenue on his back,'

Here then is an intricate problem. Was Marlow the amender of the old play of the 'First Part of the Contention'? and was Shakespeare a purloiner

from Marlow? Perhaps neither

"If Shakespeare had no hand in these two old plays, it is demonstrable that more than four-sevenths of these plays were borrowed, and appropriated verbatim, by Shakespeare, in the composition of the second and third parts of 'King Henry VI.' Mr Halliwell, however, thinks it not unlikely that they are both rifacimenti by Shakespeare of older plays ('The First Sketches of II and III Henry VI,' edited by Halliwell for the Shakesp. Soc. 1843, introd. p. 19), a conjecture which is unhappily unsupported by evidence, or it would relieve Shakespeare from the charge of appropriation." p. 274, 279. See also Dr Ingleby's Introduction to New Sh. Soc. Allusion-Books, 1874, p. vi.

DISCUSSION. MR FURNIVALL ON 2 AND 3 HENRY VI.

Mr Furnivall. While joining heartily in the thanks that have been so freely express to Miss Lee for her excellent Paper, the fruit of such long and careful work and thought, I yet look forward to a further treatment of the plays by some critic who will, like Spedding with Henry VIII, like Spalding and Hickson with The Two Noble Kinsmen, take up each scene of 2 and 3 Henry VI, and say, 'This, I think Greene rehandled by Shakspere in such and such parts. That, I think Marlowe, retoucht by Shakspere. The other, I hold to be Greene revised by Marlowe. And in each case I give such and such reasons for my opinion'. Then we shall have definite statements before us in each scene, and can say 'I agree', or 'I differ', and give our reasons for our opinions. At present, the matter is left in too vague a state for profitable discussion, discussion which means business, and brings the issue to a point, the evidence to a shape for a verdict to be given on it.

Critics seem to have made up their minds that only Greene, Marlowe, Peele, and Shakspere, had a hand in these plays. And yet there is one very markt feature in certain parts of 2 and 3 Henry VI, which no reader can miss noticing, but which no critic has ever yet assignd to any of the authors he supposes to have been a joint writer of the plays. I allude to the many animal similes and metaphors*.

As Mr Henry Stack puts it (with my enlargements):-

"For metaphors, the play is a zoological garden, pasture, and farmyard, combined. Lions, curs¹, oxen⁶ & ¹¹, foxes⁴ & ७, falcons⁵,

 They are doubtless suitable to plays of cruelty and vengeance; but their frequency and specialty need recognition.

¹ Small *ours* are not regarded when they grin: [new] But great men tremble when the *lion* roars. [new]

the lion roars. [new]
2 Hen. VI, III. i. 19, 20; see Drones.
turally with the Warwick bears, a bear and

(The curs of V. i. 146, 151, come naturally with the Warwick bears, a bear and ragged staff being the Warwick arms, ib. 203.)

⁶ Methinks he should stand in fear of fire, being purnt i' the hand for stealing of sheep.—2 H. VI, IV. ii. 68. [alterd]

Cade. They fell before thee like sheep and oxen, and thou behavedst thyself as if thou hadst been in thine own slaughter-house (see the calf extract, 11).

—2 Hen. VI, IV. iii. 3. [1 new. 2 alterd]

On sheep or oxen could I spend my fury.—2 Hen. VI, V. i. 27. [new]

sheep⁶, chickens⁷, wrens⁸, drones⁹, caterpillars¹⁰, calves¹¹, sucking lambs¹², harmless doves¹², hateful ravens¹², mournful crocodiles¹⁴, snakes in flowery banks¹⁴, empty eagles⁷, hungry kites⁷ & ¹⁵, labouring spiders¹⁵, sharp-quilld porcupines¹⁶, basilisks¹⁷, scorpions¹⁸,

new. The fox barks not when he would steal the lamb.—2 Hen. VI, III. i. 55. But when the fox hath once got in his nose,

He'll soon find means to make the body follow.—3 H. VI, IV. vii. 25.

n. Were't not all one, an empty eagle were set
 n. To guard the chicken from a hungry kite . . .

n. So the poor chicken should be sure of death.

n. Suf. Madam, 'tis true: and were't not madness, then,

n. To make the fox surveyor of the fold?—2 Hen. VI, III. i. 248—253.

n. ⁵ But what a point, my lord, your falcon made.

2 Hen. VI, I. 15. See too l. 12.

old. 8 Came he right now to sing a raven's note. (see 12)

And thinks he that the chirping of a nren.
 Can chase away the first conceived sound?—2 H. VI, III, ii, 40-3.

o. Come, basilisk,

a. And kill the innocent gazer with thy sight.—2 H. VI, III. ii. 52.

⁹ Drones suck not eagle's blood, but rob bee-hives.—2 H. VI, IV. i. 109. (This must be the cur and lion aphorism man of III. i. 19, 20. See note', p. 280, and note', p. 283.)

o. The commons, like an angry hive of bees
a. That want their leader, scatter up and down

a. And care not who they sting in his revenge. -2 H. VI, III. ii. 125.

n. 10 Thus are my blossoms blasted in the bud,

n. And caterpillars eat my leaves away.—2 H. VI, III. i. 90,

n. 11 And as the butcher takes away the calf,

n. And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,

n. Bearing it to the bloody slaughter-house.—2 H. VI, III. i. 210.

n. Then is sin struck down like an ox, and iniquity's throat cut like a calf.—2 H. VI, IV. ii. 29.

n. 12 Our kinsman Gloucester is as innocent

n. From meaning treason to our royal person,
n. As is the sucking lamb or harmless dove.—2 H. VI, III, i. 71.

n. Queen. Seems he a dove? his feathers are but borrow'd,

n. For he's disposëd as the hateful raven: (see ⁸)
n. Is he a lamb? his skin is surely lent him, (see ⁶)

n. For he's inclined as is the ravenous wolf.—2 H. VI, III. i. 75-8.

Gloucester's show

Beguiles him as the mournful crocodile

with sorrow snares relenting passengers,
 or as the snake roll'd in a flowering bank,

n. With shining checker'd slough doth sting a child.—2 H. VI, III. i. 226.

a. 15 Who finds the heifer dead and bleeding fresh,

o. And sees fast by, a butcher with an axe,

o. But will suspect 'twas he that made the slaughter ?

o. Who finds the partridge in the puttock's nest,

a. But may imagine how the bird was dead,

o. Although the kite soar with unbloodied beak?—2 H. VI, III. ii. 188—193

n. 16 his thighs, with darts,

n. Were almost like a sharp-quill'd porpentine. —2 H. VI, III, i. 363.

heifers, partridges, puttocks ¹⁵, screech-owls ¹⁷, lizards ¹⁷, adders ²⁰, serpents ²¹ & ¹⁶, snakes ²², and lastly, loud-howling wolves ³ & ¹², to say nothing of bears, are laid under sudden contributions to express the motives, designs, and misfortunes, of the *dramatis personæ*. Excise these, and you would reduce the play (2 *Hen. VI*) by one half."

Who then is this farmyard and menagerie man who often indulges in aphorisms? He is in 3 Hen. VI too, 1 Is he one, or two or

```
new, 17 Their chiefest prospect, murdering basilisks!
     Their softest touch as smart as lizards' stings!
      Their music frightful as the serpent's hiss!
 0.
      And boding screech-owls make the concert full!
          2 H. VI, III. ii. 324-7. (? Marlowe) See p. 254-5, note, above.
 a. 18
                        Seek not a scorpion's nest,
      Nor set no footing on this unkind shore.—2 H. VI, III. ii. 86.
 12.
 n. 19 My brain more busy than the labouring spider,
      Weaves tedious snares to trap mine enemies.—2 H. VI, III. i. 339.
    <sup>20</sup> What! art thou, like the adder, waxen deaf?—2 H. VI, III. ii. 76.
         <sup>21</sup> Were there a serpent seen, with forked tongue,
           That slily glided towards your majesty . . .
 n.
               they will guard you, whether you will or no,
 22.
           From such fell serpents as false Suffolk is.
 n.
                                                   2 H. VI, III. ii, 259-266.
         <sup>22</sup> I fear me you but warm the starved snake.—2 H. VI, III, i. 343.
 n.
          <sup>3</sup> And now loud-howling wolves arouse the jades,—2 H, VI, IV, i. 3.
 n.
           This is the shepherd beaten from thy side,
 a.
           And wolves are gnarling who shall gnaw thee first.
 a.
                                                          2 H. VI, III. i. 192.
```

- ¹ He certainly comes in in II. ii, if not before, and is there the man of the cur and lion and drones ^{1 & 9}, above,
 - old. To whom do lions cast their gentle looks?... 11
 - " Whose hand is that, the forest bear doth lick? . . . 13
 - ,, Who 'scapes the lurking serpent's mortal sting? . . . 15
 - ,, The smallest worm will turn, being trodden on; 17 [notes above]
 - a. And doves will peck, in safeguard of their brood, 18
 - a. As venom toads or lizards' dreadful stings. II. ii. 138.
 - a. The common people swarm like summer flies:
 - a. And whither fly the gnats but to the sun? II. vi. 8, 9.
 - o. Bring forth that fatal screech-owl to our house, II, vi. 56,
 - o. For though they cannot greatly sting to hurt,
 - o. Yet look to have them buzz, to offend thine ears. II. vi. 94-5.

The new lines on the greyhounds and hare, at the end of II. v. 130-1, look very like Shakspere's.

Among earlier passages are :-

[new] such safety finds
[new] The trembling lamb, environed with nolves. I, i, 242.
So looks the pent-up lion o'er the wretch

[new] That trembles under his devouring paws. I. iv.

" And all my followers to the eager foe

Turn back and fly, like ships before the wind,

three? If he's Shakspere, if he's Greene¹, if he's Marlowe, or all of 'em, let him be recognized, and parallel passages from him² produced or referred to. But I cannot consent to consider as final, any opinion on the authors of 2 and 3 Hen. VI which passes over in silence a staring characteristic of this kind³, and refuses to notice it when challenged so to do.

Further, when the critic I want, comes, I expect he will confess that, though he can say certainly of a speech like Humphrey Duke of Gloster's in 2 Hen. VI, I. i. 79—103, or King Henry's in 3 Hen. VI, II. v., 'This is Shakspere's', yet he soon loses the feeling that the revision of the play bears marks of Shakspere's hand. I expect he will agree with Miss Lee—and with me, for it was a conviction that I expresst in my first lecture on 2 Hen. VI, long before Miss Lee wrote me hers—that Marlowe, or some one of his school, helpt in the revision of the plays; and I should not be surprisd if the said critic held that there were—indeed, I feel sure that he will hold that there are,—parts of the finisht plays for which neither Shakspere nor Marlowe is responsible, so rough, ranty, or poor are they. I could willingly accept as many hands in the Folio 2 and 3 Henry VI as there are in 1 Henry VI. Every fresh time I read 2 and 3 Henry VI, the less share in them am I inclind to set down to Shakspere,

[new] Or lambs pursu'd by hunger-starved wolves. I. iv. 5.

a. So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons. I. iv. 41. (raven's: old.) (cur, woodcock, coney, wolves, tigers, all old, follow.)

old. But you are more inhuman, more inexorable,

o. O, ten times more, than tigers of Hyrcania. I. iv. 155.

n. Methought he bore him in the thickest troop 13

o. As doth a lion in a herd of neat:

[new] Or as a bear encompasst round with dogs,
Who having pincht a few, and made them cry,

The rest stand all aloof, and bark at him *. II. i. 13—17.

. like the night-owl's lazy flight,

o. a. Or like a lazy thrasher with a flail. II. i. 130-1.

For later instances see V. vi., &c.

² See the lion above, p. 259.

3 You might as well pass over the ryme of one writer in 1 Hen. VI.

⁴ It's a stronger feeling than comes over one in reading *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

^{1 &}quot;Many of [Greene's] dramas breathe in some degree that indescribable freshness, that air blown from over English homesteads and English meads, which we recognise as a Shaksperean characteristic, and which belongs to none but a wholly and truly national art."—Prof. Ward, Hist. Dram. Lit., i. 225. I agree with Prof. Ward in his praise of Greene—the man with best claim to be Shakspere's predecessor in comedy—as heartily as I disagree with him in thinking "that Greene had no share in the old plays on which the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI were founded."—i. 224.

^{*?} This by Shakspere from the bear-baitings he saw when 11 at Kenilworth or afterwards in Paris Gardens, Southwark,

though I cannot shut him out of them. As to his share in *The Contention* and *True Tragedy*: if I could make up my mind that the first sketch of Cade—with which I put the first sketch of Grumio in the 'Taming of A Shrew'—was not Shakspere's, I should gladly agree with Miss Lee, as I even now strongly incline to do, that Shakspere had no hand in these sketch-plays. The man who could write the first Grumio, Sander,—which is too the name of the 'Poore man' or cripple in the *Contention*, p. 22, old Sh. Soc. ed.—could write the first Cade, I think, or *vice versa*.

There are few things that I regret more in Shakspere's career than this, that he didn't turn back to the superb subject of these Henry VI plays, and write a fresh set on it. To an old Arthur man like myself, the reproduction of the Lancelot and Guinevere love in Suffolk and Queen Margaret, though with bitterer end, gives a strange interest to the drama. And when this thread is woven with the others of Margaret's ambition cutting down Gloster, the sole support of her and her husband's throne; the working out of her punishment for this, through the quarrels of the nobles and the insidious Richard's schemes; when one sees this Queen of 'peerless feature . . . valiant courage and undaunted spirit', robbd of her love, her kingdom, and her child; the current of her being changd; the woman turnd into a demon and a fury; then, dethroned, uttering the dread curse of Fate and Vengeance on the crafty cynical Richard in the pride of his success, and then witnessing the fulfilment of that curse on him defiant, fearing Death as little as he feard Sin, I say you have a combination of personal and political passions and motives which, had Shakspere gone back to it later in life, would have given the world the finest historical dramas it will ever own 1.

Miss Lee has kindly undertaken to edit the Contention and True Tragedy for us in parallel columns with 2 and 3 Henry VI. In the course of this work, I hope and believe that she will be able to come to even more definite results than she has yet attaind. And though my remarks may seem to imply ungratefulness for all the time and thought she has devoted to the subject for us, it is not so. I do admire her power and care—let any one contrast her Paper with the mere reproduction of Mr Grant White's view in the late Cambridge Prize-Essay on the same subject, and see what the difference between them implies—I envy her the advance that she, so young, has made, after her start under her brilliant leader, Professor Dowden. But I am sure that she will not stand still where she is; I cannot doubt that she will give us hereafter even a clearer and better judgment than she has yet deliverd on this Henry VI question, the most difficult of all Shakspere problems.

¹ And I am sure that in them would not have been wanting the picture of our old Furnivall, 'the great Alcides of the field, Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury' (1 Hen. VI, IV. vii, 60), which Nash recorded as so moving the Elizabethans. (A.D. 1592. Pierce Penilesse, p. 62, old Sh. Soc.)

Miss Lee's edition for us may have to be a 3- or 4-Text one, with the 4to of 1619, and perhaps a revis'd text. Such alterations as occur in some parts of the 1619 Quarto—even allowing that the main ones are only four or five—must be notict and accounted for in any complete view of the plays. Here are the 4 strongest changes, from Mr Halliwell's Preface and Notes in the old Shakespeare Society's edition:—

1 Cont. 1594, 1600, I. ii.

This night when I was laid in bed, I dreampt that

This, my staff, mine office-badge in court,

Was broke in two, and on the ends were plac'd

The heads of the Cardinal of Winchester,

And William de la Poole, first duke of Suffolk. 1619. Cont. I. ii.

This night when I was laid in bed, I dreamt

That this my staff, mine office-badge in court,

Was broke in twain;
by whom I cannot
guess:

But, as I think, by the cardinal. What it bodes,

God knows; and on the ends were plac'd

The heads of Edmund Duke of Somerset,

And William De la Poole, first duke of Suffolk.

1623. 2 Hen. VI, I. ii.

METHOUGHT this staff, mine office-badge in court,

Was broke in twain; by whom I HAVE FORGOT,

But, as I think, IT WAS by the cardinal,

And on the PIECES OF THE BROKEN WAND

Were plac'd the heads of Edmund duke of Somerset,

And William de la Poole, first duke of Suffolk,

This was my dream:

what it doth bode,

God knows.

Who is responsible for the italic and clarendon parts of the 1619 edition? who for the small-capitals part of the 1623? As Mr Halliwell says: "It will be at once seen that these differences (between the 1594 and 1619 versions) cannot be the result of "such "emendation" as produced "the differences of the second Folio" from the First. "I will produce another and a stronger instance. In Act I. se. ii, the edition of 1594 has these two lines:

But ere it be long, I'll go before them all, Despite of all that seek to cross me thus."

In the Quarto of 1619 and the Folio of 1623, "instead of these two lines, we have a different speech, an elaboration of the . . . two" lines of the 1594 Quarto (the spelling is modernizd):—

1619. Contention, Act I. sc. ii.

I'll come after you, for I cannot go before,

As long as Gloster bears this base and humble mind:

1623. 2 Henry VI, Act I. sc. ii.

Follow I Must: I cannot go before,

WHILE Gloster bears this base and humble mind:

	Conte		

Were I a man, and Protector, as he is,

I'd reach to th' crown, or make some hop headless:

And being but a woman, I'll not [be]

For playing of my part, in spite of all That seek to cross me thus.

1623. 2 Henry VI, I, ii,

Were I a man, A DUKE, and NEXT OF BLOOD.

I WOULD REMOVE THESE TEDIOUS STUMBLING-BLOCKS,

AND SMOOTH MY WAY UPON THEIR headless NECKS:

And, being a woman, I will not be

To play my part in FORTUNE'S PA-GEANT.

1594. Contention, p. 19.

He knowes his maister loues to be aloft.

1619. 1 Contention. (Halliwell, p. 83.)

They know their master sores a faulcon's pitch.

Hum. Faith, my lord,

it's but a base minde

That sores no higher

than a bird can sore.

1623. 2 Henry VI, II, i. 12-14, p. 125.

They know their Master loues to be aloft. BEARES

THOUGHTS ABOVE HIS Faulcons Pitch.

Glost. My Lord, 'tis but a base IGNOBLE minde.

That MOUNTS no higher then a Bird can sore. 1623. 1st Folio, p. 127-8,

2 Hen. VI, II. ii. 12-52.

The second, William of

1619. 1 Contention. (Halliwell, p. 87.)

The second was William of Hatfield, Who dyed young.

The third was Lyonell, duke of Clarence. The fourth was Iohn of

Gaunt. The Duke of Lancaster.

The fift was * Edmund of Langley, Duke of Yorke,*

The sixt was William of

Windsore. Who dyed young.

Hatfield; AND the third. Lionel, Duke of Clarence: NEXT TO WHOM,

Was Iohn of Gaunt, the

Duke of Lancaster; The fift, was Edmond Langley, Duke of Yorke;

The sixt, was Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of GLOSTER;

William of Windsor was the seuenth, and last.

Edward the Black-Prince dyed before his Father,

Again, compare:

Humphrey. Faith my Lord, it is but a base minde That can sore no higher

then a Falkons pitch. 1594. Contention, p. 25.

The second 'vvas Edmund of Langly,2 Duke of Yorke. [see fift in 1619.]

The third vvas Lyonell Duke of Clarence.

The fourth vvas Iohn of Gaunt, The Duke of Lancaster.

The fifth vvas Roger Mortemor,2 Earle of March.

The sixt yvas sir Thomas of Woodstocke.

William of Winsore yvas the seuenth and last.

Novv, Edvvard the blacke Prince he died before his father, and

The seauenth and last was Sir Thomas of Woodstocke, duke of Yorke.

Now Edward the blacke prince dyed before his father, leaving

Mr Halliwell prints w for vv of the original,

² Both mistakes,

1594. Contention, p. 25.

left / behinde him Richard, that aftervvards vvas King, Crovvnde by / the name of Richard the second, and he died vvithout an heire./

* Edmund of Langly Duke of Yorke * died. and left behind him daughters. Anne and Elinor. Lyonell Duke of Clarence died, and left behinde Alice, Anne, / and Elinor, that vvas after married to my father, and by her I / claime the Crovvne, as the true heire to Lyonell Duke / of Clarence, the third sonne to Edward the third. Now sir. the / time of Richards raigne, Henry of Bullingbrooke, sonne and heire / to Iohn of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster fourth sonne to Edward / the third, he claimde the Crowne, deposde the Merthfull King, and / as both you know, in Pomphret Castle harmelesse Richard / shamefully murthered, and so by Richard's death came the house of / Lancaster vnto the Crowne./

Sals. Sauing your tale
my Lord, as I haue
heard, in the raigne /
of Bullenbrooke, the
Duke of Yorke did
claime the Crowne,
and / but for Owin
Glendor, had bene

King./

1619. 1 Contention. (Halliwell, p. 87.)

hinde him two sonnes; Edward, borne at Angolesme, who died young, and Richard, that was after crowned king by the name of Richard the second, who dyed without an heyre.

Lyonell, duke of Clarence, dyed, and left him one only daughter, named Phillip, who was married to Edmund Mortimer. earle of March, and Ulster: and so by her I claime the crowne. as the true heire to Lyonell, duke Clarence, third sonne to Edward the third. Now, sir, in time of Richard's reigne, Henry of Bullingbroke, sonne and heire to Iohn of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, fourth Edward sonne to the third, he claimed the crowne, deposd the merthfull king, and as both, you know, in Pomfret castle Richard harmlesse shamefully murthered, and so by Richard's death came the house of Lancaster vnto the crowne.

&c. &c. &c.

1623. 1st Folio, p. 127-8, 2 Hen. VI, II. ii. 12-52.

And left behinde him Richard, HIS ONELY SONNE,

WHO after EDWARD THE THIRD'S DEATH, RAIGN'D AS King,

TILL Henry Bullingbrooke, Duke of Lancaster,

THE ELDEST Sonne and Heire OF John of Gaunt,

CROWN'D BY THE NAME OF HENRY THE FOURTH.

SEIZ'D ON THE REALME, depos'd the RIGHT-FULL King,

SENT HIS POORE QUEENE
TO FRANCE, FROM
WHENCE SHE CAME,

And HIM TO Pumfret; WHERE, as ALL you know,

Harmelesse Richard was murthered TRAITER-OUSLY.

Warw. FATHER, THE DUKE HATH TOLD THE TRUTH:

THUS GOT the House of Lancaster the Crowne. Yorke. WHICH NOW THEY HOLD BY FORCE, AND NOT BY RIGHT:

FOR RICHARD, THE FIRST SONNES HEIRE, BEING DEAD,

THE ISSUE OF THE NEXT SONNE SHOULD HAUE REIGN'D.

Salisb. BUT WILLIAM OF HATFIELD dyed WITHOUT AN HEIRE. Yorke. THE THIRD SONNE, Duke of Clarence.

FROM WHOSE LINE I clayme the Crowne, HAD ISSUE Phillip, a Daughter,

1594. Contention, p. 25.

Yorke. True. But so it fortuned then, by meanes of that mon / strous rebel Glendor, the noble Duke of York was done death, / and so euer since the heires of Iohn of Gaunt haue possessed the Crowne. But if the issue of the elder should sucseed before the is/sue of the yonger, then am I lawfull heire vnto the kingdome./

1623. 1st Folio, p. 127-8, 2 Hen. VI, II. ii. 12-52.

Who marryed Edmond Mortimer, Earle of March: EDMOND HAD ISSUE, ROGER, EARLE OF MARCH; ROGER HAD ISSUE, EDMOND, ANNE, AND ELI-ANOR.

Salisb. This Edmond, in the Reigne of Bullingbrooke.

AS I HAUE READ, LAYD clayme VNTO the Crowne, And but for Owen Glendour, had beene King; WHO KEPT HIM IN CAPTILITIE, TILL HE DYED. BUT, TO THE REST.

Yorke. HIS ELDEST SISTER, ANNE,
MY MOTHER, BEING HEIRE VNTO THE CROWNE,
MARRYED RICHARD, EARLE OF CAMBRIDGE,
WHO WAS TO EDMOND LANGLEY,
EDWARD THE THIRDS FIFT SONNES SONNE;
BY HER I CLAYME THE KINGDOME:
SHE WAS HEIRE TO ROGER, EARLE OF MARCH,
WHO WAS THE SONNE OF EDMOND MORTIMER,
WHO MARRYED PHILLIP, SOLE DAUGHTER
VNTO LIONEL, DUKE OF CLARENCE.
SO, if the Issue of the elder SONNE
Succeed before the younger, I am KING.

Lastly, I give an instance of one change in the Folio of 1623, which I hold not to be Shakspere's, and I do not believe to be Marlowe's. By Greene, or whatever aphorism man wrote the curand-lion and worm-and-dove lines above, note 1, p. 280, note 1, l. 17, 18, p. 282, it may be. The rant is worthy of one of the Kyd school.

1594. Contention, p. 49.

Suffolke. This villain being but Captain of a Pinnais,

Threatens more plagues then mightie Abradas,

The great Masadonian Pyrate,

1623. 2 Henry VI, IV. i. 104-114.

Suf. O THAT I WERE A GOD, TO SHOOT FORTH THUNDER

VPON THESE PALTRY, SERUILE, AB-IECT DRUDGES 2:

SMALL THINGS MAKE BASE MEN PROUD. This Villaine HEERE,

Being Captaine of a Pinnace, threatens more

Then BARGULUS the STRONG ILLY-RIAN Pyrate.

DRONES SUCKE NOT EAGLES BLOOD,
BUT ROB BEE-HIUES:

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT I SHOULD DYE

 $^{^{1}}$ Compare the new." Base dunghill villain and mechanical" in 2 ${\it Hen.\ VI}$, I, iii., near the end.

² I believe there are many like ones, but have no time now to hunt them out.

1594. Contention, p. 49.

1623. 2 Henry VI, IV. i. 104-114.

BY SUCH A LOWLY VASSALL AS THY SELFE,

Thy wordes addes fury and not remorse in me, Thy words MOUE RAGE, and not remorse in me:

I GO OF MESSAGE FROM THE QUEENE TO FRANCE:

I CHARGE THEE WAFT ME SAFELY CROSSE THE CHANNELL.

MISS LEE: -I. Mr Furnivall looks forward to the appearance of a critic who will be ready to take up the Henry VI Plays, and divide them scene by scene, and line by line, between the later and the earlier writers, saying: "Here Shakspere is reforming Greene"; "here is reforming Marlowe"; etc. In order to do this it will be necessary to say definitely who was the author of each separate scene and each separate line of the Contention and of the True Tragedy. When I wrote my paper on Henry VI some months ago I refused to do this, both because I felt some uncertainty as to whether or not Peele had any share in the old Plays; and, also, because I felt (what, indeed, I still feel) that it is hazardous for any person with only the evidence of style to guide him to say positively that such particular words were written by such a particular writer. ever, it be thought by others that I am leaving my task unfinished, and that it remains for some one else to undertake what I have not had the energy and the pluck to do, I feel bound to give up my own wishes in the matter, and to say to the best of my judgment what parts of the Contention and of the True Trugedy were most probably written by Marlowe, and what parts by Greene.

With respect to the additions and alterations found in 2 and 3 Henry VI I can speak with greater confidence. Here the evidence, both external and internal, as to authorship appears to me tenfold stronger than in the case of the plays in their unreformed state. By far the greater number of new lines were, I cannot doubt, written by Shakspere; and though one is conscious of Marlowe's influence from beginning to end of the plays—in the metrical structure, in the language, in the impetuous hurry of the action; and further—though many passages were probably written by Marlowe's hand; nevertheless the Henry VI Plays belong essentially to Shakspere, and to

no one else.

Many lines in 2 and 3 Henry VI which I attribute to Shakspere are poor lines—lines which others will think, which indeed I myself feel, are unworthy of him. But they will be found for the most part to occur in passages which had been left bad, and rough, and unfinished by the earlier writer. Every experienced craftsman will tell us how hopeless, how well nigh impossible the effort always is to turn bad work into good. Besides, no one will persuade me that Shakspere wrote these Henry VI Plays for the love of the subject

itself, or for the sake of his art. Work such as this belongs to that period of his life when he had to write to live, and when it was a necessity to carry out the wishes of others rather than his own.

The scheme which will be found further on will show (1) what parts of 2 and 3 Henry VI I ascribe to Shakspere, and what to Marlowe; (2) what parts of the Contention and True Tragedy I ascribe

to Marlowe, and what to Greene.

II. I am quite ready to concede to Mr Furnivall that the number of animal and insect metaphors found in Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, is a singular feature of these plays. The two plays contain more than forty allusions of this nature, -a greater number, I should think, than are to be found in any other English play, or any two connected plays. Thus we have :- lions, tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, greyhounds, small curs, chafed bulls, herds of neat. calves, dead heifers, harmless sheep, ewes, sucking lambs, deer, hares, coneys, princely eagles, empty eagles, hawks, falcons, kites with unbloodied beaks, hungry kites, puttocks, ravens with dismal tune, hateful ravens, screech-owls, night-owls, swans, partridges, woodcocks, poor chickens, harmless doves, wrens, encaged birds, mournful crocodiles, basilisks, serpents with forked tongues, snakes with shining checker'd slough, starved snakes, adders, lizards, venom toads, smallest worms, caterpillars, scorpions, labouring spiders. summer flies, gnats.

Mr Furnivall seems to hold that these similes indicate a distinct and separate hand¹ at work at *Henry VI*,—another writer than Shakspere (or Marlowe); an undiscovered "farmyard and menagerie man," as he expresses it. I do not myself believe this: 1st, because I do not know of any one particular dramatist to whom such constant use of animal metaphors could be ascribed as a special characteristic of his style; and, 2nd, because many of the metaphors in question appear in passages of which I cannot for an instant doubt that Shakspere was the author. In writing such lines as the following I do not think that Shakspere would have listened to the advice.

or brooked the interference of any man:

n.2 "Henry. Thou never didst them wrong nor no man wrong:

n. And as the butcher takes away the calf,

n. And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,

n. Bearing it to the bloody slaughter house;

n. Even so, remorseless, have they borne him hence:

n. And as the dam runs lowing up and down,

n. Looking the way her harmless young one went,

¹ I ask for information, see p. 282-3. In my own copy, I find to different animal passages old notes: '? Greene' in some cases, '? Shakspere' in others, '? Marlowe' in a few. The aphorism man, whose work also appears in 3 Henry VI, II. ii., I had supposed to be Greene.—F. J. F.

² See note to p. 264.

n. And can do nought but wail her darling's loss;

n. Even so myself bewails good Gloster's case,

n. With sad unhelpful tears; and with dimm'd eyes

n. Look after him, and cannot do him good;

n. So mighty are his vowed enemies.

a. His fortunes I will weep; and twixt each groan,

- a. Say—'Who's a traitor? Gloster he is none.' [Exit HENRY.
 n. Queen. Free lords, cold snow melts with the sun's hot beams.
- n. Henry my lord is cold in great affairs;n. Too full of foolish pity; and Gloster's show
- n. Beguiles him as the mournful crocodile
 n. With sorrow snares relenting passengers;
 n. Or as the snake, rolled in a flowering bank,
- n. With shining checker'd slough, doth sting a child,

n. That, for the beauty, thinks it excellent.

- n. Believe me, lords, were none more wise than I,
 n. (And yet, herein, I judge mine own wit good)
- n. This Gloster should be quickly rid the world,

n. To rid us from the fear we have of him.

n. York. 'Tis York that hath more reason for his death.

- n. But, my lord cardinal, and you, my lord of Suffolk,
- n. Say as you think, and speak it from your souls ;-

were 't not all one, an empty eagle were setTo guard the chicken from a hungry kite,

n. As place duke Humphrey for the king's protector?

n. Queen. So the poor chicken should be sure of death."

2 Henry VI, III. i.

Or turning to 3 Henry VI, take the new lines at the close of Act II. sc. v. As to these Mr Furnivall admits that they "look very like Shakspere's."

- a. "Queen Margaret. Mount you, my lord: towards Berwick post amain.
- n. Edward and Richard like a brace of greyhounds,

n. Having the fearful, flying hare in sight,n. With fiery eyes, sparkling for very wrath,

n. And bloody steel grasp'd in their ireful hands, a. Are at our backs; and therefore hence amain."

Shakspere had as yet been only a few years in London, and still had fresh in his memory the little tragedies with which country life makes us acquainted. It is, indeed, noticeable that—with a few exceptions—the animals introduced into the *Henry VI* plays, and not mentioned in the originals, are animals with which Shakspere must have been familiar when he lived among the woods and green fields of Warwickshire.

There are a sufficient number of allusions to animals in Marlowe and in Shakspere to justify my belief that it was they who inserted these animal metaphors in the Henry VI plays. Besides, many are transplanted out of the Contention and True Tragedy, and Greene's predilection for animals—both real and fabulous—is well known. "Did I," exclaims Nash, indignant at being accused of having imitated Greene, "euer write of cony-catching? stufft my stile with hearbs and stones? . . . if not, how then do I imitate him?" (" Haue with you to Saffron-Walden," &c., 1596. Sig. V. 3. See Dyce's ed. of Greene, p. 37.) "If any man bee of a dainty and curious eare," says the author of Martine Mar-Sixtus, 1592, undoubtedly alluding to Greene, "I shall desire him to repayre to those authors; euery man hath not a perle-mint, a fish-mint, nor a bird mint in his braine, all are not licensed to create new stones, new fowles, new serpents, to coyne new creatures" (Preface. Dyce's ed. of Greene, p. 37).

For these reasons I do not think that the animal and insect metaphors necessarily indicate another writer than Shakspere or Marlowe at work in the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.

^{&#}x27;homekeeping': Two Gentlemen: cp. Coriolanus. "Mansionato, a homekeeper, a houslin, one that seldom goes abroad."—1598; Florio.

^{&#}x27;house and home, eat out of': 2 Hen. IV., II. i. 81. "I set abroach all the vessels in my house, hoggesheads and pipes: I had all my men as busic as could bee to serue: and this is but one night. What thinke you shall become of you, whom they shall daily eate out of house and home [quem assiduè exedent]? So God be my helpe, as I take pitic and compassion of your substance."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 222, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

^{&#}x27;jack': sb. "Saultereau: n. A Locust, or Grasshopper; also, the Jack of a Virginall, &c."—1611; Cotgrave.

^{&#}x27;jump': adv. Hamlet, I. i. 65. "Ita attemperate venit hodie, He comes so iumpe, or in the very nicke to day: in season, at the very point."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 101, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

^{&#}x27;kecksie or kex': Hen. V., V. ii. "But he hath a certaine couetous fellow to his father, miserly, and as dry as a kixe: its our neighbour Menedemus."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 226, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

^{&#}x27;kibe': Hamlet. "Pernione, a kibe on the heele, or a chilblane on the hands."—1598; Florio.

TABLE OF SHAKSPERE'S AND MARLOWE'S SHARES IN $HENRY\ VI,\ PARTS\ II.\ AND\ III.^1$

BY MISS JANE LEE.

[I wish this scheme to be looked on as merely conjectural and tentative. With regard to the authorship of several passages I am quite ready, if need be, to yield my opinion to that of others more skilled and more experienced in deciding disputed questions of a like kind. This remark will hold even more strongly with regard to the Contention² and True Tragedy—see Table at p. 304.]

Henry VI. PART II.

Act I. sc. i. II. 23-35.	New.	Shakspere.
" " " 11. 76-235 .	New or reformed. ³	Shakspere.
(Contention, pp. 3-8,	Marlowe and Greene.)	_
	New or reformed. But	Shakspere.
	several lines are taken	-
	unaltered from the	
	Contention,	
(Contention, pp. 8-1	1, Greene.)	
Act I. sc. iii. ll. 1-127.		Shakspere.
	few old lines are	-
	taken unaltered from	
•	the Contention, pp.	
	11-15.	
" " II. 128-140.	New.	Shakspere.
" " Il. 141-150.	Touched up.	Shakspere.
" " Il. 151-154.	New, and might be by	? Shakspere.
,, ,,	any one.	
" " II. 155-177.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.
,, ,,	1	

In using this Table I must ask my readers to compare 2 and 3 Henry VI with the Contention and True Tragedy for themselves, and not to confide in the marking of Malone, which is by no means trustworthy. All lines taken unchanged from the old Plays—as far as it was possible—I have passed by.

² Any references to the Contention or True Tragedy will be to the old Shake-

speare Society (1843) Reprints.

³ It may, perhaps, be that the total number of lines set down as "new" or "reformed" in this Table, will not agree with the total number which I have given at p. 266. But here I have not aimed at strict numerical accuracy. I attended rather to groups of lines than to single isolated lines.

? Shakspere. Act I. sc. iii. ll. 182-226. New or reformed. There is nothing in any way characterabout istic changes made. Some lines are taken unaltered from the Contention. (Contention, pp. 11-17, Greene and Marlowe.) Act I. sc. iv. ll. 1-31. New. Shakspere. 11. 41-66, 73-85. New or reformed. Shakspere. (Contention, pp. 17-19, Greene.) Thusin Act I. Iascribe all new or reformed lines to Shakspere. Act II. sc. i. ll. 1-113. New or reformed. Some ? Shakspere. lines are taken un-

lines are taken unaltered from the Contention, pp. 19-21. The additions and changes made are of little value.

" ll. 153-205. New or reformed. (*Contention*, pp. 19-25, Greene.)

Act II. sc. ii. ll. 1-82.

Shakspere.

? Shakspere.

Shakspere.

New or reformed. Most of the lines here are virtually new. Some few are taken unaltered from the Contention.

(Contention, pp. 25-27, Marlowe and ? Greene.)

Act II. sc. iii. ll. 1-58. Reformed. Marlowe.

""", ll. 73-76. Reformed. Shakspere.

""", ll. 87-103. New or reformed. Shakspere.

""" (Contention, pp. 27-30, Greene.)

Act II. sc. iv.

New or reformed. But some 17 or more lines are taken unaltered from the Contention.

(Contention, pp. 30-32, Greene.) Thus in Act II. we have:—

Sc. i. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. ii. Shakspere revising Marlowe and !Greene. Sc. iii. Shakspere and !Marlowe revising Greene. Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Greene.

Act III. sc. i. ll. 1-141.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.		
,, ,, ll. 142-199.	New or reformed.	Marlowe.		
,, ll. 200-281.	New.	Shakspere.		
" ll. 282-330.	New or reformed.	Marlowe.		
" " " ll. 331-356.	New.	Shakspere.		
", ", ll. 357-383.	New or reformed.	Marlowe.		
	39, Marlowe and Greene.)			
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 1-37.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.		
" " Il. 43-121.¹	New or reformed. Shaks	pere and		
**		we together.		
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 122-187.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.		
,, ,, 11. 230 - 235,	New.	Shakspere.		
238, 239, 242, 246-269.		1		
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 282-308.	New or reformed.	Shakspere.		
" " " ll. 312, 324 ,	New.	Shakspere.		
330-332. II. 312, 324,		1		
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 339 - 366,	New or reformed.	Shakspere.		
370-387, 396, 397.	Lines 375 and 378	1		
, ,	are taken unaltered			
	from the Contention,			
	p. 45.			
Act III. sc. ii. ll. 403-405.	New.	Shakspere.		
	46, Marlowe and Greene.)	1		
Act III. sc. iii. ll. 1-33.		Shakspere.		
(Contention, pp. 46, 47, Marlowe.)				
Thus in Act III. we have :—				
Sc. i. Shakspere and ? Marlowe revising				
Marlowe and Greene.				
Sc ii Shakspere	1 Mr. 1			
No. II. NIIII POI	and Marlowe revising			
	e and Marlowe revising reene.			
Marlowe and G				

¹ Both the structure and thought of this passage are like Marlowe's. Still, I have assigned it to Shahspere and Marlowe, because 1. 63, "Look pale as primrose with blood drinking sighs," is, I think, by Shakspere. Professor Dowden, speaking of this line, notes that Shakspere seems to have had a peculiar feeling about the primrose;—as if its colour were sad, or low-toned. Thus, in The Winter's Tale, "pale primroses, that die unmarried" (IV. iv. 122), and in Cymbeline, "The flower, that's like thy face, pale primrose" (IV. ii. 221). Again, if, as I have seen it asserted, ll, 116—118,

"To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did, When he to madding Dido would unfold His fathers acts, commenced in burning Troy."

contain a real misstatement, and imply that the writer believed it was Ascanius, not Aeneas, who told the tale of "Troy divine," then Marlowe did not write these lines either, for Marlowe knew his Virgil from cover to cover.

Act IV. sc. i. ll. 1-147.

New or reformed. Some few lines are taken unaltered from the Contention.

(Contention, pp. 47-50, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. ii. ll. 1-200.

New or reformed. A great part of this scene, as well as of all the scenes relating to Jack Cade, is taken unaltered from the Contention.

(Contention, pp. 50-54, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. iii. Il. 1-20. New—for the most part. Shakspere. (Contention, pp. 54, 55, Greene.)

Shakspere.

Act IV. sc. iv. ll. 1-18, 25-60. New or reformed. (Contention, pp. 55, 56, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. v. All the lines are old ones.

(Contention, p. 56, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. vi. ll. 9, 10, 11. New. Shakspere. (Contention, pp. 56, 57, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 7, 8, 14-18, New or reformed. Several lines are taken unaltered from the

Contention. (Contention, pp. 57-59, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. viii. ll. 1-72. New. Among them a Shakspere. few reformed old lines.

(Contention, pp. 60, 61, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. ix. II. 1-49. New (almost wholly). ? Shakspere.¹ (Contention, pp. 61, 62, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. x. ll. 1-17.

"", ll. 18-90.

New.

New or reformed. Several lines are taken

New.

Marlowe.

unaltered from the Contention, Greene.)

(Contention, pp. 62-64, Greene.)
Thus in Act IV. we have:—
Sc. i. Marlowe revising Greene.

¹ Act IV. sc. ix. Certainly such a scene as this is like Greene's work, and is little like Shakspere's. But the corresponding scene in the *Contention* (Reprints, p. 62) is Greene's, and it may be that unwittingly Shakspere here, and elsewhere, fell into the style of the writer whom he was revising.

Sc.	ii.	Shakspere	revising	Greene.
		01.1		C

Sc. iii. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. v. unrevised.

Sc. vi. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. vii. Shakspere revising Greene. Sc. viii. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. ix. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. x. Shakspere and Marlowe revising Greene.

Act V.	sc. i.	ll. 1-160. ¹	New or reformed.	Marlowe.
**	,,	11. 161-174.	New.	Shakspere.
		11 175-195	New or reformed.	Marlowe.

(Contention, pp. 64-68, Marlowe and ? Greene.)

Act V. sc. ii. ll. 10-11. New. Marlowe. " Il. 19-30. New. ? Marlowe. ,, 11. $31-65.^2$ New. Marlowe. 99

11. 70-71. Might be by any one. ? spurious. 99 11, 72-90. New. Shakspere.

(Contention, pp. 68-71, Greene and Marlowe.)

Act V. sc. iii. ll. 1-25. New or reformed. Shakspere.

(Contention, pp. 71, 72, Marlowe.)

Thus in Act V. we have :-

Sc. i. Marlowe and Shakspere revising Marlowe and ? Greene.

Sc. ii. Marlowe and Shakspere revising Greene and Marlowe.

Sc. iii. Shakspere revising Greene and Marlowe.

¹ Act V. sc. i. ll. 99-101:-

"That gold must round engirt these brows of mine; Whose smile and frown like to Achilles' spear, Is able with the change to kill or cure."

Malone notices that the allusion contained in these lines is borrowed from Propertius :-

"Mysus et Hæmonii juvenis qua cuspide vulnus Senserat, hac ipsa cuspide sensit opem."—Eleg. II. i. 63, 64.

The allusion is one which Shakspere would scarcely be likely to have known, and heightens, I think, the probability that the passage in which it appears is by Marlowe.

2 Act V. sc. ii. ll. 31-64. Of this passage Mr Swinburne says that "it is rather out of the range of than beyond the scope of Marlowe's genius," I put it down to Marlowe, feeling at the same time that ll. 45-49 are very like Shakspere's,

Act I. sc. i. ll. 6, 17, 35-37, 75, 121-123, 174, 175, 183, 184, 189, 199, 200. New. Shakspere. Act I. sc. i. ll. 216-273. Reformed or new. Shakspere. (True Tragedy, pp. 117-125, Marlowe.) Act I. sc. ii. ll. 5-76. Marlowe.

New or reformed. But a good many lines are taken unaltered from

the True Tragedy.

(True Tragedy, pp. 125-127, Marlowe.) Act I. sc. iii. Scarcely any changes are

made in this scene. (True Tragedy, pp. 127, 128, Marlowe.

Act I. sc. iv. II. 1-26. New or reformed. One or two lines are taken

> unaltered from the True Tragedy, p. 129.

Shakspere.

Shakspere.

? Shakspere.

? Shakspere.

11.46,70,89,90. New. All other lines in the scene are taken from the True Tragedy: but some few

have been revised.

(True Tragedy, pp. 128-133, Marlowe and & Greene.)

Thus in Act I. we have :-

Sc. i. Shakspere revising Marlowe. Sc. ii. Marlowe revising himself.

Sc. iii. unrevised.

Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Marlowe and ? Greene.

Act II. sc. i. ll. 1-18. New or reformed. A few lines are taken unaltered from the True Tragedy, pp.

133, 134.

11. 23, 24, 33,

New. Act II. sc. i. ll. 41-78. New or reformed. Some lines are taken unaltered from the True

Tragedy, pp. 134, 135.

11. 81-86, 200-204.

New. Marlowe. (True Tragedy, pp. 133-139, Marlowe and perhaps Greene.)

Act II. sc. ii. ll. 6, 53, 56, 79, 83, 143, 146-148. New. ? Marlowe.¹ (*True Tragedy*, pp. 139-144, Greene, and Mar-

lowe, and perhaps Peele.)

Act II. sc. iii. ll. 7, 9-47. New or reformed. A Shakspere.

few lines are taken unaltered from the *True Tragedy*, pp. 144-146.

Marlowe.

" " Il. 49-56. New or Reformed.²

(True Tragedy, pp. 144-146, Marlowe.)
Act II. sc. iv. ll. 1-4, 12, 13. New. Marlowe.

(True Tragedy, p. 146, Greene.)

Act II. sc. v. ll. 1-54.

New. Four lines of Shakspere.
this passage are in the

True Tragedy, p

", ", Il. 58-113. New or reformed. Some Shakspere. lines are taken un-

altered from the True Tragedy, pp. 147, 148.

Act II. sc. v. ll. 114-120. New. ? Marlowe. , , , ll. 123-139. New or reformed. Shakspere.

"(True Tragedy, pp. 147-149, Greene.)

Act II. sc. vi. ll. 31-36, 47-50, 58, 100-102. New. Marlowe.

(True Tragedy, pp. 149-152, Marlowe and Greene.)

Thus in Act II. we have :-

Sc. i. Marlowe and ? Shakspere revising Mar-

lowe and ? Greene.

Sc. ii. I Marlowe revising himself, and Greene, and perhaps Peele.

¹ Act II. so. ii. Where there are only a few isolated lines added it is very hard to discriminate between Shakspere's and Marlowe's manner. Here, and in some other passages, it is chiefly because I think the corresponding part of the *True Tragedy* is by Marlowe that I assign the few additions made to him also.

² Act II, sc. iii, ll. 52-53 :—

"And if we thrive promise them such rewards
As Victors wear at the Olympian games."

Fancy an English general in the midst of the horror of such a battle as Towton taking time to promise his men Olympian wreaths! I assign the passage to Marlowe, I cannot think that Shakspere would have written so irritating a line,

Sc. iii. Shakspere and Marlowe revising Marlowe.

Sc. iv. Marlowe revising Greene.

Sc. v. Shakspere and ? Marlowe revising Greene. Sc. vi. Marlowe revising himself and Greene.

Act III. sc. i. ll. 1-54, 63- New or reformed. Some Shakspere. 101. lines are taken unaltered from the True

Tragedy.

(True Tragedy, pp. 152-154, Greene.)

Act III. sc. ii. ll. 9, 16, 20,

38-51, 58-68, 85, 86, 110. New.

Act III. sc. ii. ll. 128-190. New reformed or

(chiefly new). A few lines are taken unaltered from the True Tragedy.

Shakspere.

Shakspere.

? Marlowe.

? Marlowe.

? Marlowe.

? Marlowe.

? Marlowe.

? Marlowe.

(True Tragedy, pp. 154-158, Greene, and perhaps Marlowe at the end.)

Act III. sc. iii. ll. 4-43, 47,

48, 67-77.

Act III. sc. iii. ll. 110-120. Reformed or new. 11. 134-137,

141-150, 156-161. New.

Act III. sc. iii. ll. 175-179, 191-201.1

Act III. sc. iii. ll. 208-218, 221, 226, 233-238.

Act III. sc. iii. ll. 244-255.

New. New or reformed.

Reformed or new.

(True Tragedy, pp. 158-163, Greene, and

possibly Peele.) Thus in Act III. we have:—

Sc. i. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. ii. Shakspere revising Greene ? Marlowe.

Sc. iii. ? Marlowe revising Greene and perhaps Peele.

¹ Act III. sc. iii, ll. 199-201 :--

"Warwick these words have turned my hate to love; And I forgive and quite forget old faults, And joy that thou becomest King Henry's friend."

In describing Margaret's character Holinshed quaintly remarks that she was "furnished with the gifts of reason, policie, and wisdom; but yet sometime (according to hir kind) when she had beene fullie bent on a matter, suddenlie like a weather cocke, mutable and turning."

Act IV. sc. i. ll. 1-83, 119-New orreformed. Shakspere. 149. Several lines are taken unaltered from the True Tragedy, pp. 163-165, and the alterations made in others are very insignificant. Between II. 83-119 there are no new lines, but there many altered lines.

(True Tragedy, pp. 163-167, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. ii. ll. 19-30. New.

(True Tragedy, pp. 167, 168, Marlowe.)

Act IV. sc. iii. ll. 1-22. New.

Shakspere. ,, 11. 40-61. New or reformed. Some Shakspere. few lines are taken unaltered from the

True Tragedy. (*True Tragedy*, pp. 168, 169, Marlowe.) New or reformed.

Act IV. sc. iv. ll. 1-35.1 (True Tragedy, p. 170, Greene.)

Act IV. sc. v. ll. 1-27. New or reformed.

(True Tragedy, p. 169, ? Greene.) Act IV. sc. vi. ll. 1-64. New. Two or three Shakspere. lines are taken unaltered from the True

,, 11. 73, 74, 77-

102. New.

Shakspere. (True Tragedy, p. 173, Greene.)

Tragedy.

New. Between II. 16-Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 1-16, 31-Shakspere. 31, and again between 34.

11. 34-55, there are changes; but not changes of much significance.

Marlowe.

Shakspere.

Shakspere.

Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 59-66,

Shakspere. 70. New. Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 78-88. New or reformed. Shakspere.

(True Tragedy, pp. 170-172, Greene.)

¹ The order of the scenes in 3 Henry VI and the True Tragedy does not agree in this part.

Act IV. sc. viii. ll. 6, 20, 21, New. There are, be- Shakspere. sides, in sc. viii. a few 26-67. reformed lines.

> True Tragedy, pp.: 173, 174, I am doubtful who wrote this part.)

Thus in Act IV. we have :-

Sc. i. Shakspere revising Greene. Sc. ii. Marlowe revising himself.

Sc. iii. Shakspere revising Marlowe.

Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. v. Shakspere revising? Greene.

Sc. vi. Shakspere revising Greene.

Sc. vii. Shakspere revising Greene. Sc. viii. Shakspere revising —

Act V. sc. i. ll. 12-16, 21,

22, 31-33, 39, 48-57, 62-66, 69-71, 78, 79, 87-97.

Marlowe. New.

(True Tragedy, pp. 174-177, Greene, and pro-

bably Peele.)

Shakspere. A :t V. sc. ii. ll. 1-4, 8, 15-21. New. Act V. sc. ii. ll. 29-50. Reformed Shakspere. ornew.

Several lines taken unaltered from the True Tragedy.

(True Tragedy, pp. 177-179, Marlowe and Greene.)

Reformed or new. Some Marlowe. Act V. sc. iii. ll. 1-24. lines are taken un-

> altered from the True Tragedy.

(True Tragedy, p. 179, Greene.)

Act V. sc. iv. ll. 1-49. New. Amongst these Shakspere. there are, however, a

> few reformed lines. 11. 55-82. Reformed or new. Shakspere.

(True Tragedy, pp. 179-181, Greene and ? Peele.)

Act V. sc. v. ll. 7-16, 38-

40, 54, 55, 59-63. New.

Shakspere. (True Tragedy, pp. 181-184, Marlowe.)

Act V. sc. vi. ll. 5-12, 26, New. Besides the added 29, 38, 39. lines there are several reformed lines in sc.

Shakspere.

(True Tragedy, pp. 184-186, Marlowe.) No new lines. Act V. sc. vii.

(True Tragedy, pp. 186-188, Greene.)

Thus in Act V. we have :-

Sc. i. Marlowe revising Greene and ? Peele.

Sc. ii. Shakspere revising Marlowe and Greene.

Sc. iii. Marlowe revising Greene.

Sc. iv. Shakspere revising Greene and ? Peele.

Sc. v. Shakspere revising Marlowe.

Sc. vi. Shakspere revising Marlowe.

Sc. vii. unrevised.

[After this Table was in type Mr Harold Littledale pointed out to me that in York's speech in 2 Henry VI, I. i. 214—235, a passage which I have assigned to Shakspere, the story of Althea and the fatal brand is referred to correctly; while in 2 Henry IV, II. ii. 93—29, an incorrect account of the legend is given. Are we, then, to conclude that Shakspere could not have written the passage containing the true version, since we know he did write the passage which contains the false version? Not necessarily, I think. For the true version, or at least the simile introduced into it,—

"Methinks the realms of England, France, and Ireland Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood As did the fatal brand Althæa burned Unto the prince's heart of Calydon"—

may have been suggested by Shakspere's fellow-worker, Marlowe.

Again, there is nothing improbable in supposing that a man like Shakspere, who was not a Greek scholar, might have known and related the story correctly when he wrote the earlier play 2 Henry VI, and yet might have forgotten it, and given an incorrect version of it, when he wrote 2 Henry IV some six or seven years later.]

TABLE OF MARLOWE'S AND GREENE'S SHARES IN THE CONTENTION AND TRUE TRAGEDY.

The Contention.

Sc. i. Reprints, pp. 3-8, beginning "As by your high imperiall Maiesties command"," Marlowe and Greene together.

Sc. ii. Reprints, pp. 8-11, from "Why droopes my Lord like ouer

ripened corne," Greene.

Sc. iii. Reprints, pp. 11-17: "Come sirs let vs linger here abouts a while," Greene, ll. 1-40; then Marlowe writes to l. 111; then Greene to end of scene.

Sc. iv. Reprints, pp. 17-19: "Here Sir John, take this scrole of paper

here," Greene.

Sc. v. Reprints, pp. 19-25: "My Lord, how did your grace like this last flight," Greene.

Sc. vi. Reprints, pp. 25-27: "My Lords our simple supper ended, thus," Marlowe; but Warwick's part is perhaps written by Greene.

Sc. vii. Reprints, pp. 27-30: "Stand foorth Dame Elnor Cobham Duches of Gloster," Greene.

Sc. viii. Reprints, pp. 30-32: "Sirrha, whats a clocke," Greene.

Sc. ix. Reprints, pp. 33-39: "I wonder our vncle Gloster staies so long," Marlowe to 1. 169, "Now York bethink thy self and rowse thee vp," when Greene takes it up and writes on to the end of the scene. Also, Greene may have written, or aided in writing, Humphrey's part in the previous lines.

Sc. x. Reprints, pp. 39-46: "How now sirs, what have you dispatcht him?" Marlowe; though some of the wrens, ravens, basilisks, lambs, scorpions, partridges, puttocks, kites, lizards, serpents, screech-owls, were, I imagine, suggestions of Greene's.

Sc. xi. Reprints, pp. 46, 47: "Oh death, if thou wilt let me liue but

one whole yeare," Marlowe.

Sc. xii. Reprints, pp. 47-50: "Bring forward these prisoners that scorn'd to yeeld," Greene.

Sc. xiii. Reprints, pp. 50-54: "Come away Nick, and put a long

staffe in thy pike," Greene.

Sc. xiv. Reprints, pp. 54, 55: "Sir Dicke Butcher, thou hast fought to-day most valiantly," Greene.

^{&#}x27; For the style and run of the lines in Henry's and Margaret's speeches to each other, cf. the passage beginning: "These gracious words most royal Carolus."—Faustus, IV. i.

- Sc. xv. Reprints, pp. 55, 56: "Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother is slaine,"? Greene—certainly not Marlowe.
- Sc. xvi. Reprints, p. 56: "How now, is Jack Cade slaine?" Greene.
- Sc. xvii. Reprints, pp. 56, 57: "Now is Mortemer Lord of this Citie," Greene.
- Sc. xviii. Reprints, pp. 57-61: "So, sirs now go some and pull down the Sauoy," Greene.
- Sc. xix. Reprints, pp. 61, 62: "Lord Somerset, what newes here you
- of the Rebell Cade," Greene.
 Sc. xx. Reprints, pp. 62-64: "Good Lord how pleasant is this country life," Greene.
- Sc. xxi. Reprints, pp. 64-67: "In Armes from Ireland comes Yorke amaine," ? Greene—certainly not Marlowe.
- Sc. xxii. Reprints, pp. 67, 68: "Long live my noble Lord, and soueraigne King," Marlowe.
- Sc. xxiii. Reprints, pp. 68-72: "So Lie thou there, and breathe thy last," ll. 1-8, Greene; then Marlowe writes on to the end, except that Greene writes II. 20-39.

The True Tragedy.

- Sc. i. Reprints, pp. 117-125, beginning "I wonder how the king escapt our hands," Marlowe.
- Sc. ii. Reprints, pp. 125-127, from "Brother, and cosin Montague, giue mee leaue to speake," Marlowe.
- Sc. iii. Reprints, pp. 127-133: "Oh flie my Lord, lets leaue the Castell," Marlowe; but Greene had some share in this scene, as the doves, ravens, woodcocks, curs, and conies shew. The latter part of Margaret's long speech may have been written by Greene, or by Peele: the second writer begins at 1. 130, "I, now lookes he like a king," and writes on to l. 143, "And, whilst we breath, take time to doe him dead."
- Sc. iv. Reprints, pp. 133-139: "After this dangerous fight and haplesse warre," Marlowe; but the Messenger's speech is like Greene's work.
- Sc. v. Reprints, pp. 139-144: "Welcome my Lord to this braue town of York," Greene and Marlowe; but Clifford's speech, beginning I. 8, "My gratious Lord, this too much lenitie," recalls many a passage by Peele.
- Sc. vi. Reprints, pp. 144-146: "Sore spent with toile as runners with the race," Marlowe.
- Sc. vii. Reprints, p. 146: "A Clifford a Clifford," Greene.
- Sc. viii. Reprints, pp. 147-152: "Oh gratious God of heauen looke downe on vs," ll. 1-64, ? Greene1; Clifford's speech, beginning at
- Sc. viii, Il, 41-49 with the repetition of the same thought—the harping on one string, cf. Greene's James, iv. p. 202, col. I., Dyce's Ed.

- 1.65 and on to l. 142, is Marlowe's; while from l. 143 to the end of the scene is like Greene's—especially from l. 151.
- Sc. ix. Reprints, pp. 152-154, from "Come, lets take our stands vpon this hill," Greene.
- Sc. x. Reprints, pp. 154-158: "Brothers of Clarence, and of Glocester," Greene, down to Richard's soliloquy, which is perhaps by Marlowe.
- Sc. xi. Reprints, pp. 158-163: "Welcome Queene Margaret to the Court of France," Greene; but I doubt whether Warwick's part in this scene was written by Greene. It is certainly not by Marlowe.
- Sc. xii. Reprints, pp. 163-167: "Brothers of Clarence, and of Glocester," Greene.
- Sc. xiii. Reprints, pp. 167-169: "Trust me my Lords all hitherto goes well," Marlowe.
- Sc. xiv. Reprints, p. 169: "Lord Hastings, and Sir William Stanly," ? Greene.
- Sc. xv. Reprints, p. 170: "Tel me good Maddam, why is your grace," Greene.
- Sc. xvi. Reprints, pp. 170-172: "Thus far from Belgia have we past the seas," Greene.
- Sc. xvii. Reprints, pp. 173, 174: "Thus from the prison to this princelie seat." The first half—to the entrance of Warwick—by Greene. About the second half I am doubtful.
- Sc. xviii. Reprints, p. 174: "Sease on the shame-fast Henry," Greene.
 Sc. xix. Reprints, pp. 174-177: "Where is the post that came from valiant Oxford?" probably by Greene and? Peele; Edward's part being by Greene.
- Sc. xx. Reprints, pp. 177-179: "Ah, who is nie? Come to me friend or foe"; ll. 1-39 Marlowe; ll. 40 to end of scene Greene.
- Sc. xxi. Reprints, pp. 179-184: "Welcome to England, my louing friends of Frāce." First 11 lines like Peele's; Prince Edward's speech by Greene; but from 1. 50 to end of scene is Marlowe's without a doubt.
- Sc. xxii. Reprints, pp. 184-186: "Good day my Lord. What at your booke so hard," Marlowe.
- Sc. xxiii. Reprints, pp. 186-188: "Once more we sit in England's royall throne," Greene.

POSTSCRIPT TO PAPER ON HENRY VI, PARTS II. AND III.

I. THE characters of Duke Humphrey and King Henry.

In "Shakspeare's Dramatic Art" by Dr Ulrici (which I first read after my Paper was written) there are some interesting pages on the extent and limitation of Marlowe's genius, considered with regard to the question of the authorship of 2 and 3 Henry VI. "In not a single one of Marlowe's dramas," writes Dr Ulrici, "do we find a character guided by truly moral motives; nowhere is there any question about the struggle between the moral nature of man with his sensual impulses and selfish desires. In short, the moral element in the mental life of man appears wholly excluded from Marlowe's works." 1 With the scenes fresh in my memory where Marlowe describes the struggle made by Faustus for self-control and self-mastery, or the scenes in which he describes the striving of the Queen of Carthage for moderation and modesty, I cannot but protest against the judgment here pronounced. It is true that in these scenes Marlowe shows us the man and woman overcome by selfish desire and sensual impulse. But all the same the struggle has been recorded, so that the moral element in the mental life of man is shown not to be wholly excluded from Marlowe's works. Carrying out the same idea, Dr Ulrici argues that Marlowe could not have created such characters as the good conscientious Duke of Gloster, or the pious King of the Henry VI Plays, or could not even have sketched them in the manner in which they are presented to us in the Contention and True Tragedy. Whether or not Marlowe could have developed the characters of Gloster and Henry as they appear in 2 and 3 Henry VI I am not concerned to prove. The work was done by Shakspere, not by Marlowe. But I contend that he could and did create characters far more memorable than Gloster and Henry as they appear in

Vol. ii., Book VII., chap. i. p. 316. Bohn's ed., 1876.

the earlier Plays. Marlowe had, I know, more power to delineate evil than good. But Faustus—the wisest man of his age—wrestling with his intellect, and confessing in bitterness of spirit the shipwreck of his faith, is an infinitely grander type of human character than a merely conscientious, painstaking, prudent man like Duke Humphrey.¹ For, in the Contention Duke Humphrey exhibits no higher qualities of mind than conscientiousness and sagacity. His struggle for an exacter self-command and self-knowledge, which Shakspere puts forward in 2 Henry VI, finds no place in the older Play.

I dissent again from Dr Ulrici's opinion that Marlowe could not have created such a character as the "pious, dutiful, gentle, and amiable Henry VI." The character of Henry seems to me in an especial degree a Marlowesque conception,—with its apathetic longsuffering through life, and its solitary outburst of wrathful indignation at the moment of death. How any person who has considered Marlowe's Mycetes and his Edward II can fail to find in these a strong likeness to Henry is to me more than strange. Dr Ulrici thinks Marlowe would have mercilessly branded Henry "as a weak, effeminate, unkingly man." Well, this is precisely what Marlowe has done. Marlowe represents Henry as a man incapable of forming a resolve, or of adhering to a purpose; refusing to accept the task imposed upon him; fearing to tread the path marked out for him; indifferent to the welfare of his country; stealing away from the reproaches of those whom he has injured; ready to sacrifice his dearest interests for the sake of temporary peace. Henry's piety weighs but lightly when set against his abject weakness. Surely patience is mere apathy in such a character, and goodness does not deserve the name. A man is not worth a straw who is not roused to anger at the sense of wrong, and to action at the sight of injustice.

Dr Ulrici contrasts the death of Henry VI. with the death of Marlowe's Edward II. Henry dies bravely while prophesying the punish-

When Goethe was spoken to about Marlowe's Faustus he "burst out with an exclamation of praise: How greatly it is all planned! He had thought of translating it. He was fully aware that Shakspere did not stand alone."—Henry Crabbe Robinson's Diary, ii. 434, under date 1829, as quoted by Col. Cunningham in his Introduction to Marlowe's Works, p. xiv.

ment of his murderer. Edward dies entreating for mercy. But the comparison is not a reasonable one. At the time of his death the one was physically strong, and in full possession of his mental faculties: the other was suffering from extreme exhaustion of body and of mind. Edward had been kept for days in a loathsome dungeon; he had been starved with hunger; he had not been permitted to sleep for ten nights past;—the shadow of death already lay upon him when Matrevis and Gurney came to take his life. There is deep pathos in this scene; but for Edward to have borne himself bravely and with courage would have been unfitting and unnatural.

Besides differing from Dr Ulrici with regard to the creation of the characters of the Contention and True Tragedy, I differ from him likewise as to the authorship of particular passages. The parting of Suffolk and Margaret, the death of the Cardinal of Winchester, the soliloquies of King Henry, and the memorable lines spoken by Richard which end with the words:

"I am myself alone,"

are passages which I feel strongly were conceived and written by Marlowe. Dr Ulrici thinks that they are as unlike anything written by Marlowe as are the scenes relating to Jack Cade.¹ When two people differ thus fundamentally,—where one says "this is so," and another "this can't be so,"—and where there is no present possibility of deciding whether one or the other is right,—there would, I think, be neither use nor profit in further discussing a question which depends almost wholly on feeling. An irreconcilable difference of opinion like this recalls to my mind a scene in 2 Henry VI:—

Cade. "Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March,
Married the duke of Clarence daughter; did he not?

Stafford. Ay, sir.

Cade. By her he had two children at one birth.

W. Stafford. That's false.

Cade. Ay, there's the question; but I say, 'tis true."

2 Henry VI, IV. ii. 144-9.

II. The order of Shakspere's historical Plays.I ought not, I think, to leave the subject of the Henry VI plays

[&]quot;Shakspeare's Dramatic Art," vol. ii. Book VII, chap. i. p. 327.

without saying something as to the date of *Richard III*, and something concerning the chronological order in which Shakspere's historical plays were probably written

Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, and Richard III, form a distinct and separate group among Shakspere's dramatic writings. The three are indissolubly linked together: they relate to the same period of English history; they set forth in due and connected order the same sequence of events; they describe the lives of the same men and women. All three resemble one another closely in metre, in diction, and in thought. In style and versification, too, Richard III as well as Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, bear a singular resemblance to the writings of Marlowe. And, further, there is an excess of inhumanity and blood-thirstiness in these plays which is more in accordance with Marlowe's manner and wont than with Shakspere's. It is from this last cause—as much as from their versification and style—that Henry VI. Parts 2 and 3, and Richard III have been called the Marlowesque group of Shakspere's plays. Richard III, no less than 2 and 3 Henry, is full of the influence of Marlowe's soul and spirit; and, though I think it more than improbable that Marlowe actually wrote any part of this play, yet in many passages we seem to catch echoes of his voice. And thus the three plays appearing to be unlike all other plays of Shakspere, and to be at the same time inseparably bound one to another,—if Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3, were, as I believe, written as early as 1590-91, I cannot think that Richard III was written later than 1592-93.1 For every reason this date appears to be a probable and a reasonable one. Shakspere's historical plays—as well from their own nature as from the incidents represented—naturally divide themselves into two groups. There is first the series relating to the Wars of the Roses, and the ruin of the House of Lancaster, beginning with Henry VI, Part 1 (which, as we have it, is a play touched up, I do not doubt, by Shakspere's hand), and ending with Richard III. The plays of this first series were written, in all probability, between the years 1590 and 1593. And there is, secondly, the series relating the

¹ The date assigned by Mr Furnivall to *Richard III* in his Trial Table of the Order of Shakspere's Plays is 1594; Mr Grant White, I believe, dates it 1593-4; Dr Ulrici assigns the date 1593 to the Play; and Mr Spedding speaks of *Richard III* as one of Shakspere's earliest works.

rise to power and the full prosperity of Henry Bolingbroke and his son, beginning with *Richard II*, and ending with *Henry V*. The plays of this series were written between the years 1593 and 1599.

I cannot doubt that King John was posterior in date to the first group of Histories. The versification and general style belong to a later period in the development of Shakspere's art. In breadth of thought and comprehension of the many-sidedness of human nature, there is a great advance made upon the play of Richard III. Professor Dowden says that: "There is little in the play of King John which strengthens or gladdens the heart." Still, in this play, Shakspere takes a more human view of life than in the awful trilogy which tells the history of the Wars of the Roses. The tragic element has here more of pathos and less of horror. Shakspere has broken loose from alien influences, and is "himself alone."

To the question whether King John preceded the second group of Histories,—if we might settle the succession of Shakspere's plays according to our own feeling and liking,—we should all, I think, answer "yes," and place the writing of the play earlier in point of time than Richard II. Were there no reason to the contrary, it would seem natural to infer that once Shakspere had begun the second series of his Histories, he did not interrupt the even course of their production in order to write of a reign which belonged to a much earlier time, and which bore no resemblance or relation to the period of English History that was now absorbing his thought and interest. And yet it may well have been, that as Shakspere not seldom during the same year wrote tragedy and comedy, or wrote of subjects which had nothing in common one with another, so in the case of King John he may have left the period of English History which described the rise to power of Henry IV, and, for some motive unknown to us, have written a play which had no connection with the second series of his Histories. Thus King John may have followed, not preceded, Richard II. Scholars disagree about the date of the play. Mr Furnivall, in his Trial Table on the Order of Shakspere's plays, assigns to Richard II the date 1593-4, and to King John the date 1595. On the other hand, Schlegel and Ulrici both believe in the earlier date of King John,

the latter calling it "the Prologue" to the second group of Shakspere's Histories.

The following list of parallel animal expressions in the Rape of Lucrece from my Introduction to the Leopold Shakspere, p. xxxiv, may interest the student of the Henry VI plays.—F. J. F.

LUCRECE.

Doves, 58

Owls' and wolves' death-boding cries, 165

Silly lambs, 167 Night-wandering weasels, 307 (Strong pirates, 335)

Dove and night-owl, 360

Lurking serpent, 362

Grim lion fawning on his prey, 421

New-kill'd bird trembling, 457

Honey guarded with a sting, 493

Falcon towering in the skies, 506

Coucheth the fowl below . . elow . . . crooked beak, falcon's bells, 511 507-8; as fowl Cockatrice dead-killing eye, 540

White hind under the gripe's sharp claws, 543

Foul night-waking cat, 554 His vulture folly, 556 Wolf and poor lamb, 677

Full-fed hound or gorged hawk, 694

A jade, 707

Thievish dog, 736 Wearied lamb, 737

Honey lost; drone-like bee, 836

Bee-hive, and wasp suck't the honey, 840 Hateful cuckoos hatch in sparrows' nests, 849

Toads' venom, 850

Adder hisses where sweet birds sing, 871 Wolf and lamb, 878

Sin's pack-horse, 928 Tiger, unicorn, and lion, 956

Crow and its coal-black wings, 1009 Snow-white swan, 1010

2 and 3 HENRY VI.

- o. Doves, 3 Henry VI, II. ii. 18 (? not Shakspere)
- o. Boding screech-owls, 2 Henry VI, III. ii. 327; o. that fatal screech-owl, 3 Henry VI, II. vi. 56
 n. Sucking lamb, 2 Henry VI, III. i. 71
- a. (The strong Illyrian Pirate, 2 Henry VI. IV. i. 108)

- 1V. 1. 108)

 n. Harmless dove, 2 Henry VI, III. i, 71; o. night-owl, 3 Henry VI, II. i. 130

 o. The lurking serpent's mortal sting, 3 Henry VI, II. ii. 15

 n. When the lion fawns upon the lamb, 3 Henry VI, IV. viii. 49

 o. Pent-up lion o'er the wretch that trembles under his devouring naws 3 Henry VI. under his devouring paws, 3 Henry VI,
- I. iii. 12 o. Some say the bee stings, 2 Henry VI. IV.
- ii. 89

- ii, 89
 a. Your falcon flew above the rest, 2 Henry VI, II. i. 5, 10
 a. So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons, 3 Henry VI, I. iv. 41
 n. Murdering basilisks (same as cockatrices), 2 Henry VI, III. ii. 324
 o. cp. The partridge in the puttock's nest, 2 Henry VI, III. ii. 191
- (Whose vulture thought, Venus, 551)
 n. Lamb . . ravenous wolf, 2 Henry VI, III.
- i. 77-8 n. Lambs pursued by hunger-starved wolves,
- 3 Henry VI, I. iv. 5 o. Hawks do tower so well, 2 Henry VI, II.
- i. 10 n. The jades that drag the night, 2 Henry VI,
- IV. i. 3 (? Marlowe)
- o. To beat a dog, 2 Henry VI, III. i. 171
 o. An innocent lamb, 2 Henry VI, IV. ii. 87;
 o. poor harmless lambs, 3 Henry VI, II.
 v. 75
- n. Drones rob bee-hives, 2 Henry VI, IV. i. 109 (? not Shakspere)
- o. Hive of bees, 2 Henry VI, III. ii. 125 [1 Henry IV, III. ii. 75; Lear, I. iv. 285; Antony and Cleopatra, II. vi. 28] o. Venom toads, 3 Henry VI, II. ii, 138 (? not
- Shakspere)
- n. Adder, 2 Henry VI, III. ii. 76 n. Trembling lamb environed with wolves, 3 Henry VI, I. i. 242
- o. Tiger's heart, o. tigers of Hyrcania, 3

 Henry VI, I. iv. 137-155; o. lion, 3 Henry
 VI, II. ii. 11
- o. The night-crow cried, 3 Henry VI, V. vi. 45

LUCRECE.

Gnats, 1014 Eagles, 1015 Slaughterhouse and tool, 1039

Little birds' morning joys, 1107, 1121 Lamenting Philomel, 1079; and nightingale and thorn, 1135 Men proving beasts, 1148

Poor frighted deer, 1149

Little worms, 1248

Pale swan in watery nest, 1611

Blood, and watery rigol, 1747

Old bees die, young possess their hive, 1769

2 and 3 HENRY VI.

o. Gnats, 3 Henry VI, II. vi. 9

b. Grands, S. Henry VI, III. i. 248
m. Empty eagle, 2 Henry VI, III. i. 248
m. The bloody slaughterhouse, 2 Henry VI, III. i. 212; o. butcher and his axe, 2 Henry VI, III. ii. 189

[The nightingale . . . lean'd her breast up till a thorn, Passionate Pilgrim, xxi. 8-10] o. Margaret turnd worse than tigers, 3 Henry VI, I. iv. 154

o. The deer . . n. will scare the herd . . o. here's a deer, 3 Henry VI, III. i. 2-22 o. The smallest worm will turn, 3 Henry VI,

II. ii. 17 (? not Shakspere)

n. A swan . . swim against the tide, 3 Henry

V.I. i. iv. 19-20

n. This cold congealed blood, 3 Henry VI, V.

ii. 37 o. Bees that want their leader, 2 Henry VI, III. ii. 125; and see Clifford's argument in 3 Henry VI, II. ii. 21-42

law: 'the Law allows it': Merchant of Venice, A.D. 1596. "let them bloud and spare not; the Lawe allowes thee to do it, it will beare no action: and thou beeing a Barber Surgeon, art priviledgd to dresse flesh in Lent, or anie thing."—1596; T. Nash, Haue with you to Saffron Walden, sign. B. bk.

'lone woman': 2 Hen. IV., II. i. 35. "Moreouer, Glycerie is a lone woman [hæc sola est mulier]; he will quickly picke a quarrell against her, and so turne her packing out of the towne."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 38, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'lumpish': Two Gentlemen, III. ii. 62. "All these things may well be said vnto me, that bee commonly spoken against a foole: as to be called a blockpate, a dulhead, an asse, a lumpish sot [caudex, stipes, asinus, plumbeus]."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 251, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'meacock': Shrew, II. i. "Coquefredouille: m. A meacocke, milkesop, sneaksbie, worthlesse fellow."—1611; Cotgrave.

'mechanical': Mids. N. Dream, III. ii. "Patarino, a base mechanical fellow, a porter or daie labourer."—1598; Florio.

'moth': (! = mote) L. L. Lost. "Festucco, a little sticke, a fease, strawe, a tooth-picke, a moth, a little beame."—1598; Florio.

'napping, take napping': Shrew, IV. ii. 46. 'Oscitantes opprimimur. We are taken napping."-R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 17, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598). See too Fool's Paradise, above.

'nick (of time)': Othello. "Ita attemperate venit hodie. He comes so jumpe, or in the very nicke to-day: in season, at the very point."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 101, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

XI. THE POLITICAL ELEMENT IN MASSINGER.

BY PROFESSOR S. R. GARDINER.

(Read at the 26th Meeting of the Society, Friday, June 9, 1876.)

Amongst the Caroline dramatists, Massinger takes a high place. If it cannot be said of his works, that

> "Every word is thought And every thought is pure,"

his coarseness is merely adventitious. The main intention of his work is moral. He never descends to paint immoral intention as virtuous because it does not succeed in converting itself into vicious act.

It will probably be a surprise even to those who are far better acquainted with the history of literature than I can pretend to be, that in many of Massinger's plays we have a treatment of the politics of the day so plain and transparent, that any one who possesses only a slight acquaintance with the history of the reigns of the first two Stuarts can read it at a glance. It is quite unintelligible to me that, with the exception of a few cursory words in Mr Ward's 'History of Dramatic Literature,' no previous 2 inquirer should have stumbled on a fact so obvious.

First printed in the Contemporary Review for August 1876, p. 495-

The following extracts, which have been kindly supplied by Mr Daniel, show that I overstated this. Except, perhaps, the extract relating to Buckingham, however, they do not materially touch my assertion. I am not dealing with political allusions to men like Coke, Michell, or Mompesson, but with direct interference with current politics with a distinct political object. The passages, however, deserve notice, as showing that others have suspected that there was more in Massinger than met the eye. "If Massinger is to be suspected of political allusions, this Play [The

In speaking of the political element in Massinger, I mean something very different from those chance allusions and coincidences

Bondman] betrays him. The character of Gisco the admiral does not suit him, but agrees very well with the Duke of Buckingham:—

'a raw young fellow,
One never trained in arms, but rather fashioned
To tilt with ladies' lips, than crack a lance,' etc.

The 'green heads that determine of the state over their cups,' etc., were now in possession of all power, and playing their wildest schemes. And towards the end of the reign of James (the date of this play), it might well be said, by the friends to the safety of their country:—

'in this plenty
And fat of peace, your young men ne'er were train'd
In martial discipline; and your ships unrigg'd,
Rot in the harbour.'

One of those friends of his country was Massinger: and it is hardly possible to point out, in any writer, ancient or modern, a finer strain of patriotism amidst the public danger, than that which animates the last scene of the first act."— DR IRELAND (p. 119, Massinger, ed. 1845).

"'I am bound there
To swear for my master's profit, as securely
As your intelligencer must for his prince,
That sends him forth an honorable spy,
To serve his purposes.'

Here is, probably, an allusion to the celebrated definition of an ambassador, by Sir Henry Wotton: 'An honest man appointed to lye abroad for the good of his country,'—a definition, by the bye, which cost him dear; for Sir Henry, not satisfied with entertaining his countrymen, would needs translate his wit into Latin, for the amusement of foreigners. Lye, which was then the term for lodge or dwell, made a tolerable pun; but menticulum, into which it was turned, had neither humour nor ambiguity in it, and sorely scandalized the corps diplomatic."—GIFFORD, Massinger, p. 121. The Renegado, I. i.

Compare in The Maid of Honour, II. i. p. 231,

"swearing for the king,
Though false, it is no perjury.
Astutio.
I know it.
They are not fit to be state agents, sir,
That, without scruple of their conscience, cannot
Be prodigal in such trifles."

See also in *Maid of Honour*, I. i. p. 227-8, sundry passages on which Gifford remarks:—"Davies, I think, says, that here is an allusion to the affairs of this country under James. However that may be, it is, at least, certain that the author, in this animated description, was thinking of England only. He could scarcely be so ignorant of the natural history of Sicily as not to know how little of his description applied to that island; while every word of it was perfectly applicable to this."

"Old Novall [in the Fatal Dowry] might be designed only as an enemy to the cause of Charalois, and as a contrast to Rochfort. But the reprobation of

which are so often taken as evidences that a great poet is taking a direct part in contemporary politics. I mean nothing less than that Massinger treated of the events of the day under a disguise hardly less thin than that which shows off the figures in the caricatures of Aristophanes or the cartoons of *Punch*.

As might be expected, Massinger's standpoint is the standpoint of the Herberts. His connection with the younger of the two brothers, the Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who afterwards became Earl of Pembroke, is witnessed by himself. With William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, it has hitherto been held that he had no personal dealings. Whether this be so or not, I hope to show that he expressed himself in a way which would have been altogether satisfactory to Pembroke, though this may possibly be accounted for by a wish to please his brother Montgomery.

The first play in which anything political is to be found is 'The Bondman,' which, when printed, was dedicated to Montgomery. In the dedication Massinger says that he 'could never arrive at the happiness to be made known to his lordship,' but that his 'lordship's liberal suffrage taught others to allow' the play 'for current.' It would be a vain task to inquire what were the personal views of a man who had so little of the politician in him as Montgomery; and we must, therefore, ask what were the views of his brother.

him is so frequently indulged, and with such vehemence and accumulation of circumstances, as to raise a suspicion that a portrait was intended. His hard and insulting disposition, his savage abuse, and his readiness to 'cross every deserving soldier and scholar,' seem to allude to Sir Edward Coke, and to the base and unfeeling treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh."—DR IRELAND, p. 346, 2nd col.

New Way to Pay Old Debts. Gifford states that Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel were the prototypes of Sir Giles Overreach and Marrall. See a long note, Act II. sc. i. p. 355, where Gifford quotes passages from Wilson's Life and Reign of James I., sub anno 1621, fol. 155, supplied to him by his "ingenious friend Mr Gilchrist." See also further note on this subject by Gilchrist, p. 376.

"The POLITICAL CHARACTER of Massinger is very creditable to him. His allusions to the public events of the times are not unfrequent," etc.—Dr Ireland, p. 526, 1st col.

See too the passage on the enemies of the commonwealth of England, quoted from *The Guardian*, II. iv., on p. xlv of the Society's edition of *Harrison's Description of England*.

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Pembroke has often been held to be the original begetter of Shakspere's sonnets. Whether this be so or not, I fancy that if anybody had spoken of him as the original begetter of 'Hamlet,' it would have been rather difficult to prove the negative. Clarendon's description of him carries us back to Ophelia's description of Hamlet;

"The expectancy and rose of the fair state, The glass of fashion and the mould of form;"

whilst those who have watched his progress minutely know how the force of his will was not equal to the grasp of his intelligence, so that the man to whom Englishmen looked up as the most honourable and patriotic of Councillors came to deserve the brief contemptuous words of Bacon, who told Buckingham that Pembroke was "for his person not effectual, but some dependencies he hath which are drawn with him."

These words were spoken by Bacon on January 2, 1624, as advice to Buckingham to win over Pembroke before Parliament opened. Pembroke had just been in one of his temporary fits of resolution. Buckingham and the Prince had returned from Madrid, and wanted James to declare war with Spain as soon as possible. Pembroke had never been in favour of the Spanish alliance; but he distrusted Buckingham as a leader, and he thought that Buckingham was behaving shabbily in advocating the breach of engagements of which he had been himself the strongest advocate. In these weeks of Pembroke's opposition 'The Bondman' was written. It was licensed on December 3, 1623. There is more of allusion than of direct reference to passing events in this play; but the audience must surely have thought of the young Lord Admiral of England as they heard such lines as these (i. 1):—

"Leosthenes. Who commands
The Carthaginian fleet?
Timagoras. Gisco's their admiral,
And 'tis our happiness; a raw young fellow,
One never train'd in arms, but rather fashion'd
To tilt with ladies' lips than crack a lance;
Ravish a feather from a mistress' fan
And wear it as a favour. A steel helmet,
Made horrid with a glorious plume, will crack
His woman's neck."

A little further (i. 3), we have the expression of regret that England has no worthy commander:—

"Archidamus. O shame! that we, that are a populous nation, Engaged to liberal nature for all blessings
An island can bring forth; we, that have limbs
And able bodies; shipping, arms, and treasure,
The sinews of the war, now we are call'd
To stand upon our ground; cannot produce
One fit to be our general."

The scene in which Timoleon sets before the men of Syracuse the necessity of sacrifice in war looks as if Massinger thought that others beside Buckingham were to blame. The following lines seem to include Middlesex as well as Buckingham; and Pembroke, as we know, had as little sympathy with Middlesex as he had with Buckingham:—

"Timoleon. Your senate house, which used not to admit A man, however popular, to stand At the helm of government, whose youth was not Made glorious with actions whose experience, Crown'd with grey hairs, gave warrant to his counsels Heard and received with reverence, is now filled With green heads, that determine of the state Over their cups, or when their sated lusts Afford them leisure; or supplied by those Who rising from base arts and sordid thrift, Are eminent for their wealth, not for their wisdom; Which is the reason that to hold a place In council, which was once esteem'd an honour, And a reward for virtue, hath quite lost Lustre and reputation, and is made A mercenary purchase."

If Massinger has an eye to Buckingham and Middlesex, he has an eye, too, to the future House of Commons. I am unable to follow Mr Spedding in all that he has said against the Commons of 1624, but I am bound to acknowledge that he has Massinger's forebodings on his side. "Yet," Timoleon proceeds—

"In this plenty
And fat of peace, your young men ne'er were train'd
In martial discipline; and your ships unrigg'd
Rot in the harbour: no defence prepared,
But thought unuseful; as if that the Gods,
Indulgent to your sloth, had granted you

A perpetuity of pride and pleasure, No change fear'd or expected.

Old fester'd sores
Must be lanced to the quick and cauterized,
Which borne with patience, after I'll apply
Soft unguents. For the maintenance of the war
It is decreed all moneys in the hand
Of private men, shall instantly be brought
To the public treasury."

Murmurs are heard, and are thus checked by Timoleon:-

"O blind men!
If you refuse the first means that is offer'd
To give you health, no hope's left to recover
Your desperate sickness. Do you prize your muck
Above your liberties; and rather choose
To be made bondmen than to part with that
To which already we are slaves?"

The next play of which I shall speak is very different in its tone. 'The Great Duke of Florence' was acted on July 5, 1627. The Herberts had by this time been reconciled to Buckingham, who had now started on that expedition to the Isle of Rhé, from which so much was expected. Strange as it may seem, it is impossible to read the play without thinking of James, and Charles, and Buckingham. Sanazarro, the favourite of Duke Cosimo, is deputed to have an eye to the love affairs of the duke's nephew, and joins the nephew in hoodwinking the old man. It may, perhaps, be overstraining a point to refer to the commencement of the declaration against Raleigh, when Cosimo says (i. 2)—

"Though
We stand not bound to yield account to any
Why we do this or that, the full consent
Of our subjects being included in our will;"

or to think of Charles, in the commendation of Giovanni (iii. 1)-

"Cosimo. You are, nephew, As I hear, an excellent horseman;"

or again-

"How do you like My nephew's horsemanship ?" But James and Buckingham can hardly have been out of the thoughts of the spectators when Cosimo says (v. 2)—

"The honours we have hourly heap'd upon him,
The titles, the rewards, to the envy of
The old nobility, as the common people,
We now forbear to touch on."

Still, however, as it could hardly fail to be, the allusion is less direct than in 'The Bondman.' The way in which stress is laid upon the military qualities of the favourite may possibly be meant to call attention to the commander of an expedition which had not yet failed, but it may also be that Massinger was laughing in his sleeve at the man whom he thought it expedient to praise.

I now come to the group of three plays to which I wish especially to draw attention. 'Believe as you List' was offered for license on January 11, 1631; 'The Emperor of the East' was licensed March 11 of the same year; and 'The Maid of Honour' was printed in 1632, and probably written in the preceding year. The group therefore covers a space of twelve or fifteen months.

The circumstances which attended the refusal of a license to 'Believe as you List' at once arrest attention. In his prologue Massinger asks for pardon if

"What's Roman here, Grecian, or Asiatic, draw too near A late and sad example;"

and it has hitherto been held that this is sufficiently explained by the fact that Sir Henry Herbert refused to license a play of which the name is not given, "because it did contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian, King of Portugal, by Philip II., and there being a peace sworn 'twixt the Kings of England and Spain." I have no doubt that Colonel Cunningham was quite right in pointing out the coincidences between the Antiochus of the play and King Sebastian. But he failed to notice that there was much in the proceedings of Antiochus which cannot by any possibility be fitted into the story of Sebastian. Antiochus, like the Sebastian of the popular story, is supposed to die in battle, and then reappears to claim his crown. But in the case of Sebastian, the defeat comes from the

Moors, whilst his crown is taken by the King of Spain. In the case of Antiochus, the crown is taken by the victor who defeats him in battle. Sebastian again does not wander, as Antiochus does, from State to State, asking aid for the recovery of his dignity and his lands. If we want to find 'a late but sad example' who will suit this part of Antiochus' story, we must look, not to Sebastian of Portugal, but to Frederick, Elector Palatine and titular King of Bohemia.

Even in the first act, where the Sebastian side is shown with tolerable consistency, we have words thrown in which must have reminded hearers of that generation of Frederick. When Antiochus laments (i. 1) how-

> "All those innocent spirits Borrowing again their bodies, gashed with wounds, (Which strew'd Achaia's bloody plains, and made Rivulets of gore), appear to me, exacting A strict account of my ambitious folly, For the exposing of twelve thousand souls, Who fell that fatal day to certain ruin; Neither the counsel of the Persian king Prevailing with me; nor the grave advice Of my wise enemy, Marcus Scaurus, hindering My desperate enterprise;"

we can hardly avoid thinking of the defeat in Bohemia, which ended an enterprise begun in spite of warnings from friendly James of England and hostile Maximilian of Bavaria.

In the second act Antiochus applies to Carthage for aid, just as Frederick applied to the Dutch Republic, and Carthage finally answers (ii. 2) just as the Dutch answered Frederick-

> We wish we could " Amilcar. Receive you as a king, since your relation Hath wrought so much upon us that we do Incline to that belief. But since we cannot As such protect you, but with certain danger, Until you are by other potent nations Proclaimed for such, our fitting caution Cannot be censured, though we do entreat You would elsewhere seek justice. Where? when 'tis Antiochus.

Frighted from you by power.

Amilcar. And yet take comfort.

Not all the threats of Rome shall force us to

Deliver you." 1

If this had been all, it might be said that the resemblance was accidental, and there are of course many points in which it does not by any means run upon all fours. But the third act is, I think, decisive.

Let us, before proceeding further, represent to ourselves the situation of the English Court in January, 1631.

It had only been with the greatest reluctance that, after a prolonged negotiation, Charles had just consented to make peace with Spain, without obtaining from Philip IV. a direct promise that he would force the Emperor to surrender the Palatinate. But he had got a promise that Spain would do all in her power to recover the Palatinate by any means short of force. In accepting this promise Charles had put himself under the guidance of the Lord Treasurer Weston, who was always, in the long run, able to curb his master's occasional longing for more energetic action, by telling him that without a Parliament he could not maintain a war, and that a Parliament would only resume the attitude of the Parliament of 1629.

On the other side there was a considerable party at Court, of which Pembroke and his brother formed a part, who disliked Weston and his policy and believed him to be merely actuated by a sordid love of gain. These men attempted to make use of the Queen, who cared nothing for politics, but who had quarrelled with Weston on account of his rude overbearing manners, and on account of a difference of opinion about the money needed for her rather extravagant housekeeping. Let us read part of scene 3 of Act iii., substituting King Charles for Prusias, Henrietta Maria for the Queen, Weston for Philoxenus, whose very name (a lover of strangers) is meant to suit him, and Coloma, the Spanish, for Flaminius the Roman Ambassador, only remembering that Frederick was not in person in England, as Antiochus was in Bithynia.

"One urged to the Parthian, A second into Egypt, and a third To the Batavian."

¹ When this paper was read before the Society, Mr Hales pointed out a piece of evidence which shows where Massinger's thoughts were. There is a discussion (iii, 2) where Antiochus shall take refuge.

The scene opens with a dialogue between Flaminius (Coloma) and Philoxenus (Weston). Flaminius begins—

"What we have said the consuls will make good And the glad senate ratify."

Philoxenus replies as the leader of the so-called Spanish party in England might be expected to reply—

"They have so Obliged me for this favour that there is not A service of that difficulty from which I would decline. In this rest confident. I am your own—and sure."

After assuring Philoxenus of the rewards that awaited him, Flaminius proceeds to flatter him, delicately caricaturing those points in Weston which were most open to caricature.

"Since a wise forecast in the managing Worldly affairs is the true wisdom—rashness The schoolmistress of idiots. You well know Charity begins at home, and that we are Nearest unto ourselves. Fools build upon Imaginary hopes, but wise men ever On real certainties."

All Weston's materialism, his utter contempt for the ideal, are there. Then, after much else in the same strain, we have his relations with the King, as the Opposition understood them, presented in such a way as to stir up the indignation of Charles.

"But to the point. With speed get me access
To the king your pupil. And 'tis well for him
That he hath such a tutor. Rich Bithynia
Was never so indebted to a patriot,
And vigilant watchman, for her peace and safety
As to yourself."

This then, in the eyes of Pembroke and his party, was Charles's true position. He was Weston's pupil, and Weston was in the pay of Spain. Philoxenus accepts the imputation with becoming modesty—

"Without boast I may whisper I have done something in that way."

Flaminius goes on flattering him to the top of his bent, and laughs at him as soon as he is gone. Philoxenus then returns, accompanied

by the King. In Prusias we have Charles's talk about subordinating his alliance with Spain to the demands of honour, which call upon him to maintain his brother-in-law's cause, just as it is familiar to us now. "What," says Prusias, when he hears of the arrival of the Roman—

"What can he Propound which I must fear to hear? I would Continue in fair terms with that warlike nation, Ever provided I wrong not myself In the least point of honour."

This is Charles all over. Then comes Flaminius' message, putting the advantages of peace in that low material form which was so familiar to Charles's courtiers, and which obtained a literary expression in Carew's lines on the death of Gustavus Adolphus—

"Flaminius. Know then, Rome,
In her pious care that you may still increase
The happiness you live on; and your subjects,
Under the shadow of their own vines, eat
The fruit they yield them—their soft musical feasts
Continuing, as they do yet, unaffrighted
With the harsh noise of war—entreats as low
As her known power and majesty can descend,
You would retain, with due equality,
A willingness to preserve what she hath conquered
From change and innovation."

Prusias accepts all this. But he is stung to the quick when the demand comes to surrender Antiochus—

"Prusias. Shall I, for your ends, Infringe my princely word? or break the laws Of hospitality? defeat myself Of the certain honour to restore a king Unto his own? and what you Romans have Extorted and keep from him? Far be 't from me! I will not buy your amity at such loss, So it be to all after-times remembered I held it not sufficient to live As one born only for myself, and I Desire no other monument."

This, Massinger would seem to say, is the real Charles, generous and high-minded. It is only the low, coarse-minded minister who intervenes between his better self and action.

Flaminius turns to Philoxenus—

" Flaminius. Here's a man, The oracle of your kingdom, that can tell you When there's no probability it may be Effected, 'tis mere madness to attempt it. Philoxenus. A true position. Flaminius. Your inclination Is honourable, but your power deficient To put your purpose into act."

At this truth Prusias starts, precisely as Charles would have started—

" Prusias. My power? Flaminius. Is not to be disputed, if weigh'd truly With the petty kings, your neighbours; but when balanced

With the globes and sceptres of my mistress, Rome, Will but—I spare comparisons, but you build on Your strength to justify the fact. Alas, It is a feeble reed, and leaning on it Will wound your hand much sooner than support you. You keep in pay, 'tis true, some peace-trained troops, Which awe your neighbours; but consider, when Our eagles shall display their sail-stretched wings, Hovering o'er our legions, what defence Can you expect from yours?"

Flaminius proceeds to urge the dangers of war, Philoxenus occasionally chiming in as chorus. Then, as if Massinger saw into the very heart of the man who was to deliver up Strafford to the block, we have the poor, helpless King exclaiming, when Flaminius proudly offers peace or war-

" Prusias. How can I Dispense with my faith given? Philoxenus. I'll yield you reasons. Prusias. Let it be peace, then. Oh! pray you call in The wretched man. In the meantime I'll consider How to excuse myself."

Antiochus comes in, and Prusias mumbles out some excuse about 'necessity of State.' The Queen pleads earnestly and passionately. But Prusias, like the Charles who in real life was terribly frightened lest he should be thought to be under his wife's influence, cuts her short, and has her carried off, for which last proceeding, it must be acknowledged, history affords no warrant.

'The Emperor of the East' has no such scene in it as this. for some remarks which have been made on it by others, it would hardly have been necessary to notice it here. There is a good deal in it about projectors and informers, and when anything is said about bad government of any kind, it is generally supposed to be intended as an attack upon Charles. There is in reality no part of history which requires more careful walking than the eleven years which passed without a Parliament. It is a period with respect to which writers suddenly become utterly regardless of chronology, and seem to imagine that anything which was done wrong at any time during the whole period may be referred to as having been done in any given year between 1629 and 1640. For the present I can only express my belief that there is nothing necessarily satirical in 'The Emperor of the East,' and that what is there written of a good king as compared with a bad one may very well have been intended to be taken as complimentary to Charles.

The next and last play to which I wish to draw attention is 'The Maid of Honour.' I suppose if any one were to assert, without bringing evidence to prove his assertions, that in the reign of Charles I. a dramatist had actually brought the King's father upon the stage, and had there displayed him in a way by no means to his advantage, he would be met by a smile of incredulity. Such, however, appears to me to have been the fact.

It is unnecessary to say much of the charges which English public opinion brought against James for his conduct in neglecting to defend the Palatinate. We all know how he clung to peace, when many people thought that peace was neither safe nor honourable, and how, when he finally made up his mind to offer assistance, he refused to declare war openly, and took credit to himself for allowing volunteers to go to fight for his son-in-law under Sir Horace Vere. Let us now see how far all this is mirrored in the character of Roberto, King of Sicily

The first scene of the first act introduces an ambassador from Ferdinand, Duke of Urbino, to Roberto as soon as he has taken his seat upon his throne. A few touches are enough to carry the audience from Ferdinand, Duke of Urbino, to Frederick, Flector

Palatine, whose acceptance of the Bohemian crown caused all the trouble.

> " Amb. Your Majesty Hath been long since familiar, I doubt not, With the desperate fortunes of my lord; and pity Of the much that your confederate hath suffered. You being his last refuge, may persuade you Not alone to compassionate, but to lend Your royal aids to stay him to his fall To certain ruin. He, too late, is conscious That his ambition to encroach upon His neighbour's territories, with the danger of His liberty, nay, his life, hath brought in question His own inheritance."

Frederick's relations to the Palatinate and to Bohemia could not be more neatly put. The ambassador goes on to describe his master's plight in the city which he had thus seized, and asks for assistance for him just as Frederick asked aid in his difficulties in Bohemia. Roberto's answer is conceived in the very spirit of James.

> " Rob. Since injustice In your duke meets this correction, can you press us With any seeming argument of reason, In foolish pity to decline his dangers, To draw them on ourself? Shall we not be Warn'd by his harms? The league proclaim'd between us Bound neither of us further than to aid Each other, if by foreign force invaded."

The exact description of the interpretation put by James upon the treaty which bound him to the Princes of the Union.

> "And so far in my honour I was tied. But since, without our counsel or allowance, He hath ta'en arms, with his good leave he must Excuse us if we steer not on a rock We see and may avoid. Let other monarchs Contend to be made glorious by proud war, And with the blood of their poor subjects purchase Increase of empire, and augment their cares In keeping that which was by wrongs extorted, Gilding unjust invasions with the trim Of glorious conquests; we, that would be known The father of our people, in our study And vigilance for their safety, must not change

Their ploughshares into swords, and force them from The secure shade of their own vines, to be Scorch'd with the flames of war: or, for our sport Expose their lives to ruin."

Then follows a conversation between the King and Bertolo, who urges the advantages of war, and reminds Roberto that he rules over an island. He calls it Sicily, but he is evidently thinking of England.

"Here are no mines of gold
Or silver to enrich you: no worm spins
Silk in her womb, to make distinction
Between you and a peasant in your habits:
No fish lives near our shores whose blood can dye
Scarlet or purple; all that we possess
With beasts we have in common: nature did
Design us to be warriors, and to break through
Our ring, the sea, by which we are environ'd,
And we by force must fetch in what is wanting,
Or precious to us."

After much more in the same strain, the King replies:-

"Rob. Think not
Our counsel's built upon so weak a base
As to be overturn'd, or shaken, with
Tempestuous winds of word. As I, my lord,
Before resolved you, I will not engage
My person in this quarrel; neither press
My subjects to maintain it; yet, to show
My rule is gentle, and that I have feeling
O' your master's sufferings, and these gallants, weary
Of the happiness of peace, desire to taste
The bitter sweets of war, we do consent
That, as adventurers and volunteers,
No way compell'd by us, they may make trial
Of their boasted valours."

The question naturally rises to our lips, What object could any one have in holding the mirror up to nature, in a form likely to be so particularly offensive to the King? The answer is not very difficult to discover. As the play in which this scene occurred followed close upon 'The Emperor of the East,' it must have been produced at some time between the spring of 1631 and the following year, when it was printed. In the summer and autumn of 1631 Charles

was doing exactly what his father had done in 1620. Gustavus Adolphus had long been looking to him for assistance. Charles gave permission to the Marquis of Hamilton to carry over volunteers to his help, just as James had allowed Vere to carry over volunteers to the Palatine. Hamilton sailed in July, 1631. Then came diplomacy. Vane was sent to negotiate with Gustavus, whilst Anstruther was negotiating in Vienna. Charles felt sure that he had done enough to induce one ruler or the other to engage to restore the Palatinate to his brother-in-law. But he would not engage in open war, for which indeed, as matters stood, he was destitute of the means. He refused even to send more volunteers to reinforce Hamilton's diminished levies. His Majesty, wrote Secretary Dorchester, in December, felt Hamilton's losses 'like a father of his people to whom their blood is precious,' and he would, therefore, risk no more soldiers in Germany. Roberto's last speech no longer represents the words of James. It brings before us Charles himself, as he must have appeared to those who wished him to take an active part in the war.

"Rob. 'Tis well, and, but my grant in this, expect not Assistance from me. Govern as you please The province you make choice of; for, I vow By all things sacred, if that thou miscarry In this rash undertaking, I will hear it No otherwise than as a sad disaster, Fallen on a stranger; nor will I esteem That man my subject, who in thy extremes In purse or person aids thee."

The party to which Massinger attached himself was not one to which any Englishman can look back with satisfaction. The Queen's faction thought more of its quarrel with the Westons, of its private jealousies in Court and Council, than of the responsibilities of power. Ever clamouring for war and a Parliament, they had no policy to prepare for war and no statesmanship to direct a Parliament.

A man like Massinger, however, may very well have thought, as the able and excellent Sir Thomas Roe thought, that at least they were better than their rivals. The mere materialism of Weston's policy must have been offensive to him. To seek to keep the peace and encourage commerce, in the hope that the people being well fed would cease to care for Parliamentary debates, was a very unideal aim for a statesman to set before himself. It touched the lowest part of English nature, its love of practical success as measured by wealth. It had its exponents too in literature, in that poetry of which the inspiring thought is

"that woman is but dust, A worthless toy for tyrants' lust,"

and which, whenever it raised its thoughts above the fleeting follies of the moment, eulogized peace, not as the parent of fruitful works and innocent joys, but as opening possibilities of self-indulgence. Carew's verses on the death of Gustavus Adolphus to which I have before referred, may be taken as a measure of the baseness which festered round the Court of Charles I.

'The Maid of Honour' may be taken as a protest against this mode of regarding the world. I do not know whether there is any truth in the supposition that Massinger was a Roman Catholic. But it is evident that he had much in him which leant that way. The scene in which Camiola is claimed as a nun helps us to understand the Court conversions which frightened Protestant England into rage, and which had as much to do as ship-money had with the final uprising against Charles.

Camiola takes refuge in a nunnery, not from any desire to obtain freer scope for spiritual aspirations, but in order that she may be safe. She wants to reach

> "the secure haven, where Eternal happiness keeps her residence, Temptations to frailty never entering."

She is, says Roberto,

"a fair example
For noble maids to imitate! Since to live
In wealth and pleasure's common, but to part with
Such poison'd baits is rare; there being nothing
Upon this stage of life to be commended."

Nothing to be commended! What a voice to rise from the Court of Charles! We have lately had in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* an arraignment of the Houses of Commons which successively stood up against the King. The faults and vices of Parliaments are

patent to the world. Their unjust judgments, their hasty condemnations, are published in the face of all men. The Court of Charles robed itself in outward decency and escaped the penetrating eve. Here and there we are able to lift the veil, and we are soon repelled by the vacuity, the want of moral earnestness of the life behind. No wonder Court gentlemen and Court ladies fled from its vacuity to a form of religion which offered to save them from this living death.

Upon a play with such an ending it is difficult to rest with satis-Instinctively we turn from her who ends as Camiola ends to her who begins where Camiola ends—to the bright, clear soul of the Isabella of 'Measure for Measure,' which, starting from the restrictions of convent life, and carrying with her the ignorance of the world, the slowness to understand the meaning of evil, the readiness to be guided by others, which naturally flow from such a mode of life, triumphs over them all by the innate purity and bravery of her spirit, and finds at last in the very heart of the city of abominations a place where she can work more worthily than in self-chosen retirement.

If we turn from Massinger back to Shakspere, we may turn forward too to the singer of the 'Comus.' Two years were to pass away after the exit of Camiola before Milton took upon himself to unfold

> "The sublime notion and high mystery That must be uttered to unfold the sage And serious doctrine of virginity;"

of that clearness of spirit and purity of soul which as Shakspere and Milton knew, and as Charles's dramatists did not know, is the saving grace of man and of woman, of the matron and the maid.

XII.

ON SHAKSPERE'S USE OF NARRATION IN HIS DRAMAS.

BY PROFESSOR N. DELIUS.

PART II,1

(Read at the 29th Meeting of the New Shahspere Society, Friday, Dec. 8, 1876.)

If we consider in the first instance the English Historical Plays of Shakspere's earliest period, we see rather the rising than the consummate dramatist, betraying himself not only in many more essential matters, but also by the less artistic and less thoughtful use of the epic element. While in this respect the plays before considered show with but few exceptions a subtle calculation, truly poetical, and nevertheless practical, our poet seems in the Historical Plays of his youth not yet to have formed a fixed canon for the distinction between that part which must be dramatized and the other for which mere narration suffices. Especially, however, Shakspere's comparative immaturity manifests itself in the more superficial framing of the narrative element, in its but loose connection with the other parts of the play, and in the less dramatic colouring of his not unfrequently To explain, and to a certain extent excuse these dry recounting. shortcomings, we must consider the kind of public for which the poet wrote his first histories; a public as naïve as patriotic, not expecting to enjoy in the theatre a work of art-such our poet had still to create for his stage,—a people eager to see passing before their eyes upon the boards, in simple yet distinct form, the glorious deeds of their forefathers, and the changing destinies of their kings and There everything striking had to be dramatized, everything heroes.

¹ The Society is indebted to Miss Eleanor Marx for the englishing of this Paper from its German original, which appears also in the Jahrbuch of the German Shakspere Society.

intermediate, so far as it appeared necessary for information or recapitulation, to be mentioned incidentally, without much artistic bywork, without individual impress, as Shakspere found it in the chronicles, only more compressed, and of course versified, as the dignity of the subject required blank verse.

The 1st Part of Henry VI commences with the parentation of the just-dead king, Henry V., which in its rhetorical, but not individualizing manner, reminds us of the tragic style of Shakspere's immediate predecessors, and clearly proves that the picture of his future favourite prince had not yet unveiled itself to him. Colourless throughout are, in the same scene, the rapidly succeeding ill-tidings from France, from which only in general outlines rises the popular hero-figure of Talbot. No more can be said for the next scene of the same act: it is the Pucelle's story told by herself. Shakspere here only repeats the statements of his chronicler Holinshed, giving them no free dramatic form, not elaborating out of them the figure of the God-inspired maid, who, it is true, appeared to his countrymen in quite another light.

With somewhat livelier colours, and borne up by English patriotism, appears on the other hand in the 4th scene of Act I. Talbot's narrative of his French captivity, which could not fail to produce an electric effect on Shakspere's public. As a further epic element we find at the end of Act II. the historical retrospect which the poet has placed in the mouth of the dying Mortimer. Of course it was not so much his object to acquaint Richard Plantagenet with his hereditary claim to the English throne, already sufficiently familiar to him, as to enlighten the public on this political contention so essential to the progress of the whole tetralogy. More fully, but in an equally dry manner, this same contest is again expatiated upon in the 2nd Part With more dramatic life, and unmistakably of Henry VI, II. ii. characteristic of Shakspere's meanwhile advanced domination and penetration of his historical materials, appear in this 2nd Part, III. i., the epic elements: the reported forebodings of the approaching troubles; the drastic portraiture (in York's monologue) of Jack Cade, whereby the poet introduces to the public that pretender and rebel before he makes him present himself in the half-comic activity of his

revolt. A good example of the more adorned and refined descriptive style, as he knew how to handle it in this his earlier period, Shakspere gives us in the poetical imagery of Queen Margaret recounting her bridal journey. Here the poet had not, as in most of his early historical plays, a chronicle to refer to, but, as in other dramas of this time, gave free vent to his fancy, to his youthful fondness for elegant trifling and conceits, not combined with a deeper characterization of the person speaking. A similar tendency the poet evidently follows in the 3rd Part of Henry VI, II. v., in the monologue of the unhappy king, who during the struggle for his crown, near the battle field, paints to himself the idyllic life of the poor shepherd. this elegy there contrasts strikingly the monologue of Richard Gloster, III. ii., so to say, the programme to the fatal tragedy of crime and ambition unrolled in the last drama of this tetralogy of York and The model of it Shakspere certainly found in the chronicle, but his own most original creation, the character of Richard, he already here independently traces, the epic sketch for his dramatically elaborated picture, the central point of his play Richard III, which we shall now consider.

The epic elements of this tragedy are principally of a retrospective kind, and show clearly throughout the whole play the tendency of the poet to interlace it with the preceding histories. By means of this criterion I have tried in another paper of the Jahrbuch, vol. vii. p. 124, to vindicate the authenticity of the Folio text of Richard III as opposed to the Quarto text, whose editor, considering such historical reminiscences superfluous to this drama in itself, had consistently rejected them. With respect to this kind of epic element it will therefore suffice to refer to my paper just quoted. But our drama offers also epic elements of another kind. For instance, Act I. sc. iv., Clarence's dream, which, compared to Queen Margaret's story of her bridal voyage, proves the mighty progress meanwhile accomplished by Shakspere's art. While on both these occasions the dramatic form remained as a matter of course excluded, there occur in Richard III two incidents which might as well have been acted on the stage as narrated by the persons concerned in them. The one (III. vii.) is Buckingham's recital of his transactions with the London citizens. Since this narrative was to serve as a proper introduction to the immediately following farce arranged between Gloster and Buckingham, the drastic effect of the scene would rather have been weakened than strengthened by dramatizing the former one. The second incident (IV. iii.) is the murder of the two sons of Edward IV. The poet has perhaps not dramatized it, because the simple suffocation of two sleeping children exhibited on the stage could hardly have produced such an effect on the public as the thrilling relation—from the lips of the trembling, repentant murderers themselves—of the touching picture of these children.

Between the cycle of plays taken from English History which Shakspere wrote in his earliest period, and those which we may ascribe to his second period, there is the single drama King John, exceptionally not founded on Holinshed's chronicles, but on the older play of an unknown author. In comparing both plays, the point most important for our present purpose is that our poet, though faithfully following, to outward appearance, at least, his dramatic predecessor, nevertheless limits himself to recounting many scenes which the other has dramatized. Thus the achievements of the bastard Faulconbridge in ransacking the churches, is only occasionally, and in general outlines, characterized by Shakspere (III. iv., and IV. ii.), while the older drama delights in presenting him on the boards in the midst of such edifying work, and on that occasion lapses into details more than scurrilous. Thus in the older drama the said Faulconbridge arrests the prophet Peter of Pomfret on the stage during a rather coarse popular scene, while Shakspere (IV. ii.) prefers describing, to showing us, the popular figure of the mob-followed mutineer in his early ended career. Lastly, in the older King John the repast of the king in the garden of the abbey, and his poisoning by the fanatic monk, is enacted before the eyes of the spectators; likewise the monk dies immediately after his draught, and the Bastard stabs the abbot on the stage. Shakspere contented himself with having these things only told, in order not to weaken by the scenic representation of such crass incidents the touching effect of the death-scene of the king. From the drama of his predecessor Shakspere has appropriated another epic element: the introductory

story of the brothers Faulconbridge. A third element, more descriptive and reflective than narrative, belongs to our poet alone: the monologues of the Bastard, with their humorously profound glosses on the events of the day, whether concerning himself or the fashionable society he has become a member of, and its shifting policy. These epic additions were wanted to place in full relief the genial humorist into whom Shakspere transformed the bombastic bully of his predecessor.

The second tetralogy from English History begins with Richard II, whose first scene contains an epic element—on the one hand retrospective, and on the other preparatory of the coming eventsthe main subject of the play, the banishment and return of Boling-To the rather colourless chronicle-reports of the dispute between the future pretender and his adversary Norfolk the poet has given life and individuality, and thus from the outset interests and instructs his spectators. That in the following scene (I. ii.) Gloster's assassination is only told, not enacted, appears justified by the economy of the drama, before the beginning of which that bloody misdeed was committed. To emphasize it, however, was necessary as the first item in the register of trespass of the king, which in the course of the play is continually lengthened, and leads at last to his dethronement. Significant and characteristic is further, in the mouth of the king (I. iv.), his malignant but telling description of Bolingbroke's popularity-hunting, and his success with the multitude. These keenly calculated efforts of the ambitious man could not well be enacted scenically in a play which in general excludes altogether the popular scenes so frequent in the first tetralogy; but for the proper understanding of what follows, they had to be brought home to the imagination of the public. In like manner, and with the same motive, the epic element is again applied to Bolingbroke in two other passages of the play. First (III. ii.) in the king's touching self-confession of his sinking might and authority as contrasted with the ascendant ones of the pretender returned home. A dramatic representation of what is here uttered in the pathos of despair would have required a whole series of scenes, and still could not have attained the same psychological effect. A brilliant specimen of Shaksperian art in the de-

scriptive style is York's report (already mentioned in my former paper) of Bolingbroke's entry into London with the captive Richard in his following. It is obvious that this striking picture might have tempted a stage-manager of our time to exhibit with all the pomp he could command, the triumphal march of Bolingbroke, and to sacrifice to a spectacle so fascinating for the public the supplementary recital of York. We readers, however, would not miss the latter even for such a dazzling compensation; and we are well content that the modest stage conditions of Shakspere's time forbade the poet to charge the boards with such a luxury of men and horses, and induced him to consider in this case the auditor rather than the spectator. Lastly, at the conclusion of the drama (V. iii.) the loose tavern life of Prince Henry and his boon companions is alluded to in a light but sufficient sketch. The poet retained for the two following parts of this tetralogy the scenic representation of this merry circle, which would not have corresponded to the general tone of our drama, and especially to its tragic end. Nevertheless the allusion to it was already here necessary as, according to the poet's plan, these four historical plays, like the preceding ones, were to represent in the eyes of the public an ensemble.

In the 1st Part of Henry IV we find comparatively little of the epic element. The historical materials offered the poet by the chronicle embraced hardly one year of the king's reign, and therefore accommodated itself the more easily to the dramatic form without frequent recourse to the epic element. It is, in fact, only on important occasions that narrative replaces scenic action. That in the beginning of the play the various symptoms of rebellion and resistance against the hardly established authority of King Henry were only enumerated and reported, reminds us of Shakspere's similar treatment of his theme in the 1st Part of Henry VI, and may serve at the same time to prove the immense artistic progress of our poet since his first juvenile essay in the field of Historical Drama. An entire scene teeming with life and actuality is comprised in Percy's self-defence (I, iii.). The manner in which he justifies his refusal to deliver the prisoners by his natural antipathy to the king's courtly messenger and his foppish manners is so masterly, that without scenic representation, from the mere recital, we are able fully to understand the antagonism between the bleeding hero and the smooth, perfumed diplomatist, horrified at the sight of corses and the smell of powder. Another epic element (III. ii.) is the king's retrospective depiction of his politic bearing at the time of Richard II., in a certain sense the pendant of a passage of the former drama already dwelt upon; only that Bolingbroke's popularity-hunting is as odiously represented by Richard, as it is complacently recommended for imitation to his son by the now-crowned Bolingbroke, who, to this purpose, exhibits it in quite another light. We see that in the progress of his art Shakspere connects more and more intimately and firmly the epic and the dramatic elements, the description and the character of the describer. The 2nd Part of Henry IV, containing the more abundant matter of the nine last years of this king's reign, and even the advent of his successor, required for its completion a more frequent use of the epic than did the first Part. To this belongs, firstly, the introductory prologue spoken by the allegorical figure of Rumour, which connects the two parts and advises the public as to time and place. At the end of the 1st Part the poet has given only a few characteristic scenes of the battle of Shrewsbury. A comprehensive report of the same, of its results and effects on the allies of the fallen Percy, Shakspere could only give us now (I. i.). A touching record of Percy's heroism and peculiarities he pronounces through Lady Percy (II. iii.), and thus shows us once more in idealized transfiguration the image of Hotspur-too soon become Coldspur. Remarkable are also the reiterated references to events which Shakspere's public must have sufficiently known from the play of Richard II; so Act III. sc. i., and Act IV, sc. i. in the mouths of the rebels, thereby stating their grievances against the alleged usurper Henry. Thus Act IV. sc. iv. in the mouth of the dying king. These are not at all superfluous recapitulations, but new illustrations of known facts from adverse political standpoints. We now feel, how in the continued occupation with these parts of the national history, not only the poet's dramatic art developes itself, but also how his political keenness exercises itself and penetrates deeper. Also in this respect the more matured Shakspere of the second differs essentially

from the youthful Shakspere of the first tetralogy with his naïver reading and treatment of the chronicle records.

If already in the 2nd Part of Henry IV the greater abundance of historical material induced the poet to recur more freely to narrative exposition, this expedient was suggested still more in Henry V. by its greater exuberance of thronging events which had to be artistically grouped into one picture. Having once successfully introduced Rumour as prologue to a whole play, the poet now went a step further, and prefaced the single acts by Chorus. He thereby gained the advantage not only of making up for the deficiencies of dramatic action, but could also, through descriptive imagery of the given situations, impress them more forcibly upon the fancy of his public than would have been possible under the poor circumstances of the stage. As an example of Shakspere's mastery in descriptive poetry, the chorus to the 4th Act has already been referred to in my former paper. We might as well have referred to most of the other chorus-prologues, such as that to the 3rd Act, describing the embarkation of the English army at Southampton, and that to the 5th Act, setting forth Henry's triumphal entry into London. Other epic elements are combined in the single acts throughout the whole play. Thus Act I. sc. i., the characterization of the new king placed in the mouth of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the stress intentionally laid on his sudden reformation since his accession to the throne. Such high commendation was the more fitting at the commencement of this play, as Shakspere in the two preceding ones had shown us his pet hero, the Prince of Wales, in quite another light. following scene the circumstantial publicistic justification of the war prepared against France has evidently a two-fold purpose firstly, to enlighten the English public on the disputed right of succession; secondly, to represent the king, not as a conqueror of foreign territory impelled by wicked ambition, but as the manly vindicator of old hereditary rights. With these threatening wartempests in France is contrasted the well-ordered state of peace in England, pictured in the homely parallel of the prosperous situation of a bee-kingdom, a miniature painting which again shows Shakspere's mastership in a non-dramatic field.

Act III. sc. ii., Mistress Quickly in her characteristic manner gives an account of Falstaff's last moments. The poet could not, of course, present the death-scene of the fat knight who during both the preceding plays had only lived for the amusement of the public. Still the end he made could not be passed over, if only to meet the disappointment of the public, which, according to a promise in the epilogue of the 2nd Part of Henry IV, expected the re-appearance of the popular "hill of flesh." On the other hand, Act IV. sc. vi., the tidings of the heroic death on the battle-field of the brothers in arms, Suffolk and York, are so thrillingly told that its scenic enactment, even if the poet had thought it compatible with the general interests of the quickly advancing action, would hardly have produced the same effect upon the spectators. A sample of descriptive poetry (Act V. sc. ii.) is offered by the impressive eloquence with which the Duke of Burgundy as peace-maker delineates the devastation made by war in the "garden of France." The images borrowed from rural life and agriculture remind us of similar ones in the Midsummer Night's Dream, and mark one of the traits of Shakspere's character, who in the midst of his glorious London activity never lost sight of the rural and agricultural interests of his native home.

Especially rich in epic elements, abounding more than all others in pompous descriptions, political expositions, and historical characterization is Shakspere's latest drama from English History-Henry VIII. This play differs in form from all the other histories of our poet, and presents much less the self-sustaining unity of the drama than a juxtaposition of important incidents of the king's life. The brilliant interview of the two kings of England and France in Picardy, with its rival pageantry so graphically described by Norfolk, the poet could not have even approximatively produced on his stage. Besides, this meeting belongs to the prelude of the drama, and Norfolk's refined hyperbolical report is mainly intended to serve as a striking example of Wolsey's insolence and ambition. Buckingham naturally improves this occasion to enumerate further complaints against Wolsey's misgovernment. With swift rebound his own trial is related in the following scene. In the beginning of the 2nd Act Shakspere recurs to a make-shift already employed, as pointed out in my first paper, in other dramas of his last period almost contemporaneous with *Henry VIII*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *Cymbeline*. The poet introduces two gentlemen in conversation in order to inform his public of the events of the day, and to prepare them for the coming ones.

Thus in this colloquy Buckingham's bearing before his judges and the preparatory steps to the king's divorce are dwelt upon. These same two gentlemen again meet at the beginning of the 4th Act, and report on the further calamities of the divorced Queen Katherine. As a set-off to this, a third gentleman joining them tells the coronation of Anna Boleyn in Westminster Abbey. To present this ecclesiastical spectacle on the boards, our poet was probably forbidden alike by deficient theatrical means as by other considerations. He, or rather the direction of the Globe Theatre, had therefore to content themselves with exhibiting the coronation-procession to the Abbey. In the following scene between Katherine and her confidential servant Griffith, the last hours of Wolsey are discussed, and his character and actions impartially appreciated. Since Katherine was to die in the same touching scene, its pathos would have been impaired if Wolsey's end had been shown the spectators just before. For the same reasons as the coronation of Anna Boleyn, the christening of the new-born Princess Elizabeth could not take place on the stage. In this case, however, Shakspere does not again resort to the gossip of noble eye-witnesses, but finds a much more original expedient. The pressure of the loyal people in the royal palace-yard on the occasion of this solemnity is better depicted by the humorous dialogue between the porter and his man, who have to resist this mob, than could have been attained by any scenical appearance of the motley crowd. To make amends, however, the solemn procession passes over the boards on its return from the christening in the Palace, and Archbishop Cranmer in an inspired oration prophesies the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth. After having examined with regard to their epic element the ten plays whose themes Shakspere borrowed from the history of his own country and people, we shall conclude by the consideration of the three plays from Roman history.

As the copious materials offered our poet by the English chronicles

could for his dramatic purpose not always be scenically elaborated, but were to be worked in by way of reports, descriptions, and occasional allusions, so he employs on a still larger scale the contents of Plutarch's Biographies both epically and dramatically, just as it suits every single case. As to the proceeding observed by Shakspere in Coriolanus, I may refer to my dissertation in the last volume of the Jahrbuch (vol. xi. p. 32); I have there spoken of the relation between Shakspere's Coriolanus and the Coriolanus of Plutarch with regard to the scenic representation, characteristics, and language, and in the discussion of the two first points I entered so fully into the question now treated of that I could only repeat here the results there arrived at.

Three of Plutarch's Biographies—Cæsar, Brutus, and Antony—offered our poet for his *Julius Cæsar* such an abundance not only of historic events, but also of characteristic traits, that he could of course not use the whole dramatically, but had to avail himself of it to a great extent epically. He resorted the more freely to the latter expedient, as the structure of this his first Roman play is much simpler, and its dimensions smaller, than is the case in either of the two Roman dramas of his last period.

The antagonism between Cæsar and his great rival Pompey precedes the commencement of our play, and is therefore only alluded to in the sketch by the tribune (Act I. sc. i.) of Pompey's former triumphal marches through the streets of Rome. This retrospect, intended to rebuke the people's fickleness, is followed up in the subsequent scene by a retrospect intended to work upon Brutus's mind, Cassius reminding him of moments in Cæsar's life which showed the now God-like ruler as a frail man crying for help. The Comedy played between Antony and Cæsar, the one repeatedly offering the crown, the other repeatedly refusing it amidst the acclaiming shouts of the assembled people, is brought forward not scenically, but through Casca's scurrilous report. Shakspere's artistic aim to impress upon the spectators the deeper sense of this incident and its effect upon Brutus and Cassius, was thus evidently more surely attained.

A similar intention may have induced him (Act I. sc. vi.) only

to relate the prodigies recorded by Plutarch. Their visible production, even if possible in the then state of the theatre, would hardly have answered the profounder tendency of the poet. Hence he contented himself with the conventional "thunder and lightning," and left it to the fancy of his audience to imagine, in keeping with Casca's words, the flaming hands of the slave, the lion at the Capitol, the fiery men in the streets of Rome, the bird of night sitting upon the Market Place. He likewise makes Calphurnia (Act II. sc. iii.) return to these ill-boding wonders and relate other ones. In the apostrophe of Antony to the dead Cæsar (Act III. sc. i.) we have, in anticipation of coming events, an energetically comprehensive delineation of all the horrors of the civic strife that shall break forth on Cæsar's death, and "as a curse, shall light upon the limbs of men." Shakspere interwove this description the better here, as, according to the whole plan of this play, these horrors could not have. been scenically enacted in the following Acts. Historical retrospects such as Plutarch offered them, the poet embodied in the mutual recriminations of Brutus and Cassius (Act IV. sc. iii.), but only so far as he thought it necessary for the illustration of the quarrel and subsequent reconciliation of the two friends. The decisive battle of Philippi, with which the tragedy concludes, could not have been fought on the boards of his theatre. Apart from the actual battlefield he produces only the episodes, first of the fall of Cassius, then of Brutus; and he has the occurrences of the battle, as far as needful for the information of the public, reported by different persons concerned in it.

If in the play just considered the poet developes a comparatively simple action on not too large a scale, he, on the contrary, unfolds before the eye of the public in his last Roman drama—Antony and Cleopatra—a much more complicated series of events, grouped round the two leading figures on an incomparably larger field and with a constant change of scene and actors. To unroll the connecting unity of these variegated, almost bewildering multitude of events, dramatic action alone was inadequate; for the exposition and completion of the already overflowing dramatic element the poet was more than ever forced to resort to the epic element. There had to be recounted

and related what could not be exhibited in additional scenes; decorative detail-painting had to supply the deficiencies of the stage, prevailing even at Shakspere's later period. Thus at the commencement of the play, in the reports of the messengers, the disasters threatening from different sides are in quick gradation announced to Antony, instead of being shown to the spectators. A messenger informs Octavius in the same conventional way of sinister news (Act I. sc. iv.), which evokes in him reminiscences of Antony's earlier life: his manly endurance of the hardships and privations of war, as opposed to his before-described effeminacy and lasciviousness which he now indulges in, in the bondage of Cleopatra. The mutual recriminations (Act II. sc. ii.) of the rival triumvirs complete by their historical retrospects the public's knowledge of preceding events. The brilliant description of the first meeting of Antony and Cleopatra that follows, I have already discussed in my first paper, and explained the leading motive of the poet. The historical retrospect placed in the mouth of the younger Pompey (Act II. sc. vi.) has the same tendency as the former ones, and also justifies his claim inherited from his father. Our poet could not think of putting upon the stage the Parthian war, in which neither Antony nor Octavius had participated. But its victorious termination by Ventidius might well be recounted in order to characterize the position which the subaltern victor occupies, or believes he occupies, with respect to his Commander Antony. Antony's further unpolitical and reckless doings at Alexandria (Act III. sc. vi.) and the motives of his later fall are related in the speech of Octavius; and in the same scene the failure of her mission to her faithless husband is reported by Octavia returned to Rome. Shakspere spared himself and his public the painful scene of the meeting and parting of the ill-paired consorts. Generally, in contradistinction to the modern treatment of the same subject, he with true historic conception lays by far less stress on the rivalry between Cleopatra and Octavia than on that between Antony and Octavius. The sea-fight near Actium, the poet could as little present scenically as the land-battle at Philippi. It passes, on the contrary, behind the scenes, but because of its influence on Antony's further destiny, the poet makes the spectators at least indirectly

witness this great catastrophe through the reflected light of the effects that its prelude, progress, and result produce on the persons engaged in it. In the two last Acts, Shakspere evidently allows the psychological and personal interest attaching to the two principal actors in his drama to outweigh the historical interest. The further action up to the tragic end is scenically enacted before our eyes, within a narrower compass, so that the poet had no need to again make use of the epic element.

[In this Paper, Prof. Delius assumes that Shakspere wrote the whole of 1 Henry VI,—a supposition that I know no Englishman who would sanction,—and also all 2 & 3 Henry VI, and all Henry VIII; theories that some, though I hope few, Englishmen would support, though the monologue of Henry VI in 2 H. VI, II. v. is of course Shakspere's. But the Professor's discussion of the use of narrative in these many-handed plays is none the less interesting and valuable, by whomsoever we hold they were written.

As the obsolescent word "parentation," p. 333, sent me to the Dictionary for its definition, I copy that for the benefit of other

readers :

"Parentation. s. Something done or said in honour of the dead.

'Let fortune this new parentation make For hated Carthage's dire spirit's sake.'

May, Translation of Lucan, b. iv.

"Some other ceremonies were practised, which differed not much from those used in *parentations*.—Archbishop Potter, *Antiquities of Greece*, ii. 18."—Latham's Johnson.—F. J. F.]

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'old': adj. great. Macb. Porter, &c. "But if you shall refuse to marrie, then will he lay all the fault vpon you, and there will be olde stirre and hurleburlie."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 38, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

"Why, my maister hath ouerthrowne him
And his Curtall, both to the ground;
I shall haue olde laughing;
It will be better then the Fox in the hole for me."

1599. Soliman and Perseda, sign. B 3, back.

'at quiet': J. Cæsar. "neither can the same [religion in Scotland], by meanes of old hatred remaining in seed, be at quiet."—J. Hooker, continuation of Holinshed, Chronicle, iii. 1563, col. 1, 1. 41-2, ed. 1587.

'slaver': Cymb., I. vii. "Farfallone, the filthie snot of ones nose, or gubbon of fleame. Also, a filthie snottie, slouenly, slauering, driueling fellow."—1598; Florio.

'tender years': Ven. & Ad., 1091, &c. "before, or till then, how couldst thou know his nature, or discerne his disposition, whilst tender yeares [ætas], young age, awe, and his master, kept him vnder?"—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 9, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'thrasonical': L. L. Lost, V. i. "Richard Tarlton, in the Dedication to his Tarletons Tragical Treatises, 1578, expresses his fear of getting 'the name and note of a Thrasonicall Clawback.'"—Hazlitt's Handbook.

'time and tide': Rom. & Jul. "Yet time & tide (that staies for no man) forbids vs to tire any more on this carrion, being more than glutted with it alreadie."—1596; T. Nash, Saffron Walden, sign. I.

'white'; 'spit white': Falstaff. "If the spettle be white viscus, the sickenesse commeth of fleame; if black, of melancholy.... The white spettle not knottie, signifieth health."—Addition to lib. vii. cap. 29 of Batman uppon Bartholome, ed. 1582, fol. 97. Skeat.

1 from 'gob.'

APPENDIXES.

- I. Shakspere's Dramatic Art.
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- II. Dr S. Forman's Book of Plays, or Notes in 1611 on Shakspere's Richard II, Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, and Macbeth; with extracts from The Lord Treasurer's accounts for 6 Plays acted in 1613, p. 413.
- III. On the Confusion of Time in the Merry Wives, by R. GRANT WHITE, Esq., p. 421.
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 - V. Account of the German Shakspere Society's Jahrbuch, 1876, by F. D. MATTHEW, Esq., p. 440.
- VI. Collation of the First edition of Marlowe's Edward II, 1594, with Dyce's text of 1850, Marlowe's Works, vol. ii., by DR RUDOLF GENÉE of Dresden, p. 445.
- VII. Shakspereana published during the years 1874 and 1875, communicated by FRANZ THIMM, p. 452.



APPENDIX I.

SHAKSPERE'S DRAMATIC ART.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN WILSON AND THE REV. N. J. HALPIN.

a. In presenting a reprint of these remarkable papers to the New Shakspere Society, a few words of explanation may be acceptable. The first mention of Professor Wilson's "astounding discovery" occurs in the fifth part of Dies Boreales, which appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for November, 1849. The subject is continued and developed in the sixth part, which was published in the same serial for April, 1850. Between the publication of Christopher North's two papers aforesaid, the leading Irish Shakspere-critic, the Rev. N. J. Halpin, awoke to the somewhat mortifying and "astounding discovery" that he had been anticipated in his theory of Shakspere's Dramatic Unities, and that the Time-Analysis, which he was then engaged in applying to Shakspere's Plays with the most startling and fruitful results, had been already revealed to his great Scotch rival. Professor Wilson had already applied it to Macbeth, and he afterwards employed it for dissecting the more intricate construction of Othello. Mr Halpin lost no time in preparing for the press his Time-Analysis of the Merchant of Venice, and it was published by Hodges and Smith of Dublin in that very month of November, with some introductory remarks (which we do not reprint) asserting and fully sustaining the originality and independence of his investigations. Meanwhile the great Christopher went on his way

"In maudlin meditation, fancy-free,"

apparently as unconscious of the very existence of Mr Halpin and his pamphlet as of the fact that his own rambling and bombastic, but

genial and spirited, dialogues were destined to be mercilessly condensed and abridged for the benefit of the New Shakspere Society. did become conscious of Mr Halpin's existence he was probably not solicitous about his work, and at the most may possibly have asked, as our readers are sure to do,—"Who's this Halpin?" This question we take leave to answer as briefly as possible. Nicholas John Halpin was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and a clergyman of the English Church; he was the author of two (perhaps the very best) original publications of the old Shakespeare Society, viz., Oberon's Vision in the Midsummer-Night's Dream, Illustrated by a Comparison with Lylie's Endymion, 1843, pp. viii. and 108, and The Bridal Runaway: an Essay on Juliet's Soliloquy-Romeo and Juliet, III. ii., pp. 19, being Art. IV. in the second volume of the Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1845. Mr Halpin died in the autumn of 1850, at the age of 60, in the lifetime of his rival. His eldest son informs us that his father's death was probably caused by the unremitting labour of preparing his Dramatic Unities for the press at a time when he was suffering from ill health. On his death all his papers were sent to his youngest son, who has since died in New York. He inherited his father's literary talents, and wrote much periodical literature under the nom de plume of "Private Myles O'Reilly." He was a General in the United States Army and Registrar of the State of New York. has become of those papers we have not heard. Shakspere-students are interested in their preservation; for it may be said of Mr Halpin. nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.

C. M. INGLEBY.

b. DOUBLE-TIME-ANALYSIS OF MACBETH AND OTHELLO.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN WILSON.

IN FOUR SCENES.

Interlocutors: — Christopher North, Talboys, Seward, and Buller.

Scene I.

N. In Macbeth, Time and Place, through the First Scene of the First Act, are past finding out. It has been asked-Was Shakspere ever in Scotland? Never. There is not one word in this Tragedy leading a Scotsman to think so-many showing he never had that happiness. Let him deal with our localities according to his own sovereign will and pleasure, as a prevailing Poet. But let no man point out his dealings with our localities as proofs of his having such knowledge of them as implies personal acquaintance with them gained by a longer or shorter visit in Scotland. The Fights at the beginning seem to be in Fife. The Soldier, there wounded, delivers his relation at the King's Camp before Forres. He has crawled, in half-an-hour, or an hour-or two hours-say seventy, eighty, or a hundred miles, or more—crossing the ridge of the Grampians. Rather smart. I do not know what you think here of Time; but I think that Space is here pretty well done for. The TIME of the Action of Shakspere's Plays has never yet, so far as I know, been, in any one Play, carefully investigated—never investigated at all; and I now announce to you Three-don't mention it—that I have made discoveries here that will astound the whole world, and demand a New Criticism of the entire Shaksperian Drama.

B. Now for some of your astounding Discoveries.

N. If you gather the Movement, scene by scene, of the Action of this Drama, you see a few weeks, or it may be months. There must be time to hear that Malcolm and his brother have reached England

and Ireland—time for the King of England to interest himself in behalf of Malcolm, and muster his array. More than this seems unrequired. But the zenith of tyranny to which Macbeth has arrived, and particularly the manner of describing the desolation of Scotland by the speakers in England, conveys to you the notion of a long, long dismal reign. Of old it always used to do so with me; so that when I came to visit the question of the Time, I felt myself as if baffled and puzzled, not finding the time I had looked for, demonstrable. Samuel Johnson has had the same impression, but has not scrutinised the data. He goes probably by the old Chronicler for the actual time, and this, one would think, must have floated before Shakspere's own mind.

T. Nobody can read the Scenes in England without seeing long-protracted time.

"Malcolm. Let us seek out some desolate shade, and there Weep our sad bosoms empty.

Macduff. Let us rather
Hold fast the mortal sword, and, like good men,
Bestride our down-fallen birthdom: Each new morn,
New widows howl; new orphans cry; new sorrows
Strike heaven on the face, that it resounds
As if it felt with Scotland, and yell'd out
Like syllable of dolour."

And in the same dialogue Malcolm says-

"I think our country sinks beneath the yoke; It weeps, it bleeds; and each new day a gash Is added to her wounds."

And hear Rosse, on his joining Malcolm and Macduff in this scene, the latest arrival from Scotland:—

"Macduff. Stands Scotland where it did?
Rosse. Alas, poor country!

Almost afraid to know itself! It cannot
Be call'd our mother, but our grave: where nothing,
But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile;
Where sighs and groans, and shrieks that rent the air,
Are made, not mark'd; where violent sorrow seems
A modern ecstasy; the dead man's knell
Is there scarce ask'd, for who; and good men's lives
Expire before the flowers in their caps,
Dying, or ere they sicken."

N. Now, my dear Talboys, let us here endeavour to ascertain Shakspere's Time. Here we have long time with a vengeance—and here we have short time; FOR THIS IS THE PICTURE OF THE STATE OF POOR SCOTLAND BEFORE THE MURDER OF MACDUFF'S WIFE AND CHILDREN. Macduff, moved by Rosse's words, asks him, "how does my wife?" And then ensues the affecting account of her murder, which you need not recite. Now, I ask, when was the murder of Lady Macduff perpetrated? Two days—certainly not more-after the murder of Banquo. Macbeth, incensed by the flight of Fleance, goes, the morning after the murder of Banquo. to the Weirds, to know by "the worst means, the worst." You know what they showed him-and that, as they vanished, he exclaimed-

"Where are they? Gone?—Let this pernicious hour Stand age accursed in the calendar!— Come in, without there!

Enter LENOX.

What's your grace's will? Macb. Saw you the weird sisters? No. my lord. Macb. Came they not by you? No, indeed, my lord.

Macb. Infected be the air whereon they ride; And damn'd all those that trust them !-I did hear

The galloping of horse: Who was't came by?

Len. 'Tis two or three, my lord, that bring you word, MACDUFF IS FLED TO ENGLAND.

Macb. Fled to England?

Len. Ay, my good lord.

Macb. Time, thou anticipat'st my dread exploits:

The flighty purpose never is o'ertook.

Unless the deed go with it: from this moment,

The very firstlings of my heart shall be The firstlings of my hand. And even now

To crown my thoughts with acts, be it thought and done:

The castle of Macduff I will surprise;

Seize upon Fife; give to the edge o' the sword His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls

That trace his line. No boasting like a fool:

This deed I'll do, before this purpose cool."

And his purpose does not cool—for the whole Family are murdered. N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1876. 23

When, then, took place the murder of Banquo? Why, a week or two after the murder of Duncan. A very short time indeed, then, intervened between the first and the last of these murders. And yet from those pictures of Scotland, painted in England for our information and horror, we have before us a long, long time, all filled up with butchery over all the land! But I say there had been no such butchery—or anything resembling it. There was, as yet, little amiss with Scotland. Look at the linking of Acts II. and III. End of Act II., Macbeth is gone to Scone-to be invested. Beginning of Act III., Banquo says, in soliloquy, in Palace of Forres, "Thou hast it now." I ask, when is this now? Assuredly just after the Coronation. The Court was moved from Scone to Forres, which, we may gather from finding Duncan there formerly, to be the usual Royal Residence. "Enter Macbeth as King." "Our great Feast"-our "solemn Supper"-"this day's Council"-all have the aspect of new taking on the style of Royalty. "Thou hast it now," is formal -weighed-and in a position that gives it authority-at the very beginning of an Act—therefore intended to mark time—a very pointing of the finger on the dial.

Banquo fears "Thou play'dst most foully for it;" he goes no farther—not a word of any tyranny done. All the style of an incipient, dangerous Rule—clouds, but no red rain yet. And I need not point out to you, Talboys, that Macbeth's behaviour at the Banquet, on seeing Banquo nodding at him from his own stool, proves him to have been then young in blood.

"My strange and self-abuse Is the initiate fear that wants hard use. We are yet but young in deed."

He had a week or two before committed a first-rate murder, Duncan's—that night he had, by hired hands, got a second-rate job done, Banquo's—and the day following he gave orders for a bloody business on a more extended scale, the Macduffs. But nothing here the least like Rosse's, or Macduff's, or Malcolm's Picture of Scotland—during those few weeks. For Shakspere forgot what the true time was—his own time—the short time; and introduced long time at the same time—why, he himself no doubt knew.

I call that an ASTOUNDING DISCOVERY. Macduff speaks as if he knew that Scotland had been for ever so long desolated by the Tyrant—and yet till Rosse told him, never had he heard of the Murder of his own Wife! Here Shakspere either forgot himself wholly, and the short time he had himself assigned—or, with his eyes open, forced in the long time upon the short—in wilful violation of possibility! All silent?

T. After supper—you shall be answered.

N. Not by any man now sitting here—or elsewhere.1

Pray, Talboys, explain to me this. The Banquet scene breaks up in most admired disorder—"stand not upon the order of your going—but go at once,"—quoth the Queen. The King, in a state of great excitement, says to her—

"I will to-morrow,
(Betimes I will,) unto the weird sisters:
More shall they speak; for now I am bent to know,
By the worst means, the worst: for mine own good,
All causes shall give way; I am in blood
Stept in so far, that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er."

One might have thought not quite so tedious; as yet he had murdered only Duncan and his grooms, and to-night Banquo. Well, he does go "to-morrow and by times" to the Cave.

"Witch.—By the pricking of my thumbs,
Something wicked this way comes:
Open, locks, whoever knocks.
Macbeth.—How now, you secret, Black, and midnight Hags?"

It is a "dark Cave"—dark at all times—and now "by times" of the morning! Now—observe—Lenox goes along with Macbeth—on such occasions 'tis natural to wish "one of ourselves" to be at hand. And Lenox had been at the Banquet. Had he gone to bed after that strange Supper? No doubt, for an hour or two—like the rest of "the Family." But whether he went to bed or not, then and there he and another Lord had a confidential and miraculous conversation. Lenox says to the other Lord—

[&]quot;Or elsewhere." Yet in Dublin, at the moment of writing this, Mr Halpin had discovered the solution of this problem, and had applied it to *Twelfth Night*, and the *Merchant of Venice*.—ED.

"My former speeches have but hit your thoughts,
Which can interpret further; only, I say,
Things have been strangely borne: the gracious Duncan
Was pitied of Macbeth—marry he was dead.
And the right valiant Banquo walked too late;
Whom, you may say, if it please you, Fleance killed,
For Fleance fled."

Who told him all this about Banquo and Fleance? He speaks of it quite familiarly to the "other lord," as a thing well known in all its bearings. But not a soul but Macbeth, and the Three Murderers themselves, could possibly have known anything about it! As for Banquo, "Safe in a ditch he bides,"—and Fleance had fled. The body may, perhaps in a few days, be found, and, though "with twenty trenched gashes on its head," identified as Banquo's, and, in a few weeks, Fleance may turn up in Wales. Nay, the Three Murderers may confess. But now all is hush; and Lenox, unless endowed with second sight, or clairvoyance, could know nothing of the murder. Yet, from his way of speaking of it, one might imagine crowner's 'quest had sitten on the body—and the report been in the Times between supper and that after-supper confab! I am overthrown—everted—subverted—the contradiction is flagrant—the impossibility monstrous. The "other Lord" seems as warlock-wise as Lenox—for he looks forward to times when

> "we may again Give to our tables meat, sleep to our nights; Free from our feasts and banquets bloody knives."

An allusion, beyond doubt, to the murder of Banquo! A sudden thought strikes me. Why, not only must the real, actual, spiritual, corporeal Ghost of Banquo sate on the stool, but "Lenox and the other Lord," as well as Macbeth, saw him. One word more with you. Lenox tells the "other Lord"

"From broad words, and 'cause he fail'd His presence at the tyrant's feast, I hear, Macduff Lives in disgrace; Sir, can you tell Where he bestows himself?"

And the "other Lord," who is wonderfully well informed for a person "strictly anonymous," replies that Macduff—

"Is gone to pray the holy king, (Edward) on his aid To wake Northumberland, and warlike Siward."

Nay, he minutely describes Macduff's surly reception of the King's messenger, sent to invite him to the Banquet, and the happy style of that official on getting the Thane of Fife's "absolute, Sir, not I," and D. I. O.! And the same nameless "Lord in waiting" says to Lenox, that

> " this report Hath so exasperate the king, that he Prepares for some attempt of war."

I should like to know first where and when these two gifted individuals picked up all this information? The king himself had told the Queen, that same night, that he had not sent to Macduff—but that he had heard "by the way" that he was not coming to the Banquet—and he only learns the flight of Macduff after the Cauldron Scene—that is, at end of it:-

"Macbeth. Come in, without there!

Enter Lenox.

Lenox. What's your Grace's will? Macbeth. Saw you the Weird Sisters? No, indeed, my Lord. Macbeth. Infected be the air whereon they ride; And damn'd all those that trust them !—I did hear The galloping of horse: Who was't came by? Lenox, 'Tis two or three, my Lord, that bring you word, MACDUFF IS FLED TO ENGLAND. Macbeth. FLED TO ENGLAND?"

For an Usurper and Tyrant, his Majesty is singularly ill-informed about the movements of his most dangerous Thanes! But Lenox, I think, must have been not a little surprised at that moment to find that, so far from the exasperated Tyrant having "prepared for some · attempt of war" with England—he had not till then positively known that Macduff had fled! I pause, as a man pauses who has no more to say—not for a reply. *

The whole Dialogue between Lenox and the Lord is miraculous. It abounds with knowledge of events that had not happened—and could not have happened—on the showing of Shakspere himself; but I do not believe that there is another man now alive who knows

that Lenox and the "other Lord" are caught up and strangled in that noose of Time. Did the Poet? You would think, from the way they go on, that one ground of war, one motive of Macduff's going, is the murder of Banquo—perpetrated since he is gone off!

Gentlemen, I have given you a specimen or two of Shakspere's way of dealing with Time. * * * To go to work with such inquiries is to try to articulate thunder. * * * Stamped and staring upon the front of these Tragedies is a conflict. He, the Poet, beholds Life—he, the Poet, is on the Stage. The littleness of the Globe Theatre mixes with the greatness of human affairs. You think of the Green-room and the Scene-shifters. I think that when we have stripped away the disguises and incumbrances of the Power, we shall see, naked, and strong, and beautiful, the statue moulded by Jupiter.

Scene II.

NORTH.

NOW FOR THE GRAND INQUIRY.

How long, think you, was Othello Governor of Cyprus, and Desdemona the General's wife?

- T. Tents pitched on the 14th May 1849—This is the 24th of June Ditto. You, like Michael Cassio, are "a great arithmetician"—and can calculate the Days.
- N. That's precise. Let's have some small attempt at precision with respect to the time at Cyprus.
 - T. Well then—a Month—Two Months.
- N. Just Two Days. Act II.—Scene I. A Sea-port Town in Cyprus—not Nicosia, the capital of the Island, which is inland—thirty miles from the Sea—but Famagusta. The sea-beach—town—

We learn from Historia Histrionica, 1699, p. 6, that in the age of Shakspere there were no scenes to shift. The chief speaker in the Dialogue says, "It is an argument of the worth of the Plays and Actors of the last Age, and easily inferr'd, that they were much beyond ours in this, to consider that they cou'd support themselves meerly from their own Merit; the weight of the Matter, and goodness of the Action, without Scenes and Machines." Scenes were first introduced in Masques. The year 1636 is the date of their introduction into the ordinary drama.—ED.

fortifications—all crowded with people on the gaze-out—for hours. For ships on the stormy sea. But not a ship to be seen. Obedient to the passion of the people, one ship after another appears in the offing-salutes and is saluted-is within the Bay-inside the Breakwater—drops anchor—the divine Desdemona has landed—Othello has her in his arms—

"O my soul's joy! If after every tempest comes such calms. May the winds blow till they have waken'd death! And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas Olympus-high; and duck again as low As hell's from heaven!"

all in five minutes—in three minutes—in one minute—in no time in less than no time. Scene II.—A Street—On the day of Othello's arrival—the Proclamation is issued "that there is full liberty of feasting for this present hour of Five, till the bell has told Eleven "—for besides the mere perdition of the Turkish Fleet, it is the "celebration of his nuptials."

S. His nuptials! Why, I thought he had been married at Venice!

N. Who cares what you think? Scene III .-- a Hall in the Castle—and enter Othello, Desdemona, Cassio, and attendants. Othello says-

> "Good Michael, look you to the guard to-night: Let's teach ourselves that honourable stop, Not to outsport discretion."

And before retiring for the night with Desdemona, he says—

"Michael, good night: To-morrow, with our earliest, Let me have speech with you."

T. Why lay you such emphasis on these unimportant words?

N. They are not unimportant. Then comes the Night Brawlas schemed by Iago. Othello, on the spot, cashiers Cassio—and at that very moment, Desdemona entering disturbed, with attendants, he says-

> "Look if my gentle love is not rais'd up.— Come, Desdemona; 'tis the soldiers' life, To have their balmy slumbers wak'd with strife."

Iago advises the unfortunate Cassio to "confess himself freely" to Desdemona—who will help to put him in his place again—and Cassio replies—"betimes in the morning I will beseech the virtuous Desdemona to undertake for me: I am desperate of my fortunes, if they check me here;"—and the Scene concludes with these words of Iago's—

"Two things are to be done,—
My wife must move for Cassio to her mistress;
I'll set her on;
Myself, the while, to draw the Moor apart,
And bring him jump when he may Cassio find
Soliciting his wife; Ay, that's the way;
Dull not device by coldness and delay."

"By the mass, 'tis morning," quoth Iago—and Act II. closes with the dawn of the Second Day at Cyprus.

Now for Act III. It opens before the Castle—as the same morning is pretty well advanced—and Cassio is ordering some Musicians to play "Good-morrow, General." Cassio says to the Clown, who is with the Musicians, "There's a poor piece of gold for thee: if the Gentlewoman that attends the General's wife be stirring, tell her, there's one Cassio entreats her a little favour of speech;"—and as the Clown goes off, Iago enters—and says to Cassio—

"You have not been a-bed, then?"

And Cassio answers—

"Why, no; the day had broke
Before we parted. I have made bold, Iago,
To send in to your wife. My suit to her
Is, that she will to virtuous Desdemona
Procure me some access.

Iago. I'll send her to you presently;
And I'll devise a mean to draw the Moor
Out of the way, that your converse and business
May be more free."

Emilia then enters, and tells Cassio that all will soon be well—"the General and his Wife are talking of it—and she speaks for you stoutly."—

T. All this does not positively imply that the preceding night was the night of the Brawl. Cassio, though originally intending it,

on reflection may have thought it too precipitate to apply to Desdemona the very next day; and there is nothing improbable in his having been with Iago till daybreak on some subsequent night. It is not quite clear, then, that the Third Act commences on the morning after Cassio's dismissal.

N. It is not quite clear! I say 'tis clear as mud or amber. Iago has with such hellish haste conceived and executed his machinations, that Cassio has been cashiered some few hours after landing in Cyprus. In the pride of success, he urges on Cassio to apply without delay to Desdemona in the morning. We see the demi-devil determined to destroy—"By the mass, 'tis morning pleasure and action make the hours seem short." Iago may have gone to bed for a few hours—Cassio had not—"You have not been a-bed, then."—" Why, no; the day had broke before we parted." The Time of the end of Second Act, and of the beginning of Third Act, are thus connected as firmly as words and deeds can connect. You say there is nothing improbable in Cassio's having been with Iago till daybreak on some subsequent night! Why, who the devil cares to know that Cassio had not been to bed on some other night? His not having been to bed on this night is an indication of his anxiety, and Iago's question is a manifestation of his malevolence cloaked with an appearance of concern. In each case an appropriate trait of character is brought before us; but the main purpose of the words is to fix the time, which they do without the possibility of a doubt. They demonstrate that the Third Act opens on the morning immediately subsequent to the night on which Act Second closes. This morning dovetails into that night with an exactness which nothing could improve. The Third Act, then, you allow, opens on the morning of the day following the night on which the Second Act closes? In this same scene, First of Act Third, Cassio says to Emilia,

"Yet, I beseech you, If you think fit, or that it may be done, Give me advantage of some brief discourse With Desdemona alone."

And Emilia says to him,

" Pray you, come in;

I will bestow you where you shall have time
To speak your bosom freely.
Cassio. I am much bound to you."

And off they go to sue to the gentle Desdemona. Then follows Scene II. of Act III.—a very short one—let me read it aloud,

" A Room in the Castle.

Enter Othello, Iago, and Gentlemen.

Othello. These letters give, Iago, to the pilot; And, by him, do my duties to the State; That done, I will be walking on the works; Repair there to me.

Iago. Well, my good Lord, I'll do't.

Othello. This fortification, gentlemen,—shall we see't?

Gent. We'll wait upon your lordship.

[Exeunt."

That this Scene is on the same day as Scene Second—and with little intermission of time—is too plain to require proof. Othello here sends off his first dispatches to Venice by the pilot who had brought him safely to Cyprus, and then goes out to inspect the fortification. That is in the natural course of things—such a scene at any subsequent time would be altogether without meaning.

T. I cannot see that, sir. Have the goodness, my dear sir, to pause a moment—and go back to the close of the Scene preceding this short one. Then and there, Cassio, as we saw, goes into the Castle with Emilia, "to be bestowed" that he may have an opportunity of asking Desdemona to intercede for him with Othello. But "to be bestowed" may mean to have apartments there—and he may have been living in the Castle for several days, with or without Othello's knowledge, before that short Scene which you have just now quoted.

N. Living in the Castle for several days! With or without Othello's knowledge! Prodigious! All that Cassio asked was, "the advantage of some brief discourse;" and, that he might have that advantage, Emilia gave him apartments in the Castle! And there we may suppose him living at rack and manger, lying perdu in the Governor's House! Emilia was a queer customer enough, but she could hardly have taken upon herself the responsibility of secreting a man under the same roof with Desdemona, without the sanction

of her Mistress—and if with her sanction, what must we think of the "gentle Lady married to the Moor?" Talboys, you are quizzing the old Gentleman.

T. I give it up.

N. The short Scene I quoted, then, immediately follows the preceding—in time; and that short Scene is manifestly introduced by Shakspere, merely to get Othello out on the ramparts with Iago, that Iago may bring the Moor "plump on Cassio soliciting his wife." Scene Third of Act III., accordingly, shows us Desdemona, Cassio, and Emilia before the Castle—and while Cassio is "soliciting his wife"—"enter Othello and Iago at a distance."

"Emilia. Madam, here comes

My Lord.
Cassio. Madam, I'll take my leave.
Desdemona. Why stay,

And hear me speak.
Cassio. Madam, not now; I am very ill at ease—
Unfit for mine own purposes.
Desdemona. Well—well—
Do your discretion. [Exit Cassio."

Down to this exit of Cassio, we are on the morning or forenoon of the Second Day at Cyprus. Every word said proves we are. Cassio's parting words prove it. "Madam, not now—I'm very ill at ease—unfit for my own purposes." He had been up all night—had been drunk—cashiered. He sees Othello coming—his heart sinks—and he retreats in shame and fear—"unfit for his own purposes."

N. In Scene First of Act III., Emilia tells Cassio that she will do a particular thing—do it of course—quam primum—as a thing that requires no delay, and demands haste—and in Scene III. she appears having done it. In Scene First she tells Cassio that she will bring him to speak with Desdemona about his replacement—and in Scene Third, before the Castle, we find that she has done this. The opportunity came immediately—it was made to her hand—all that was necessary was that Othello should not be present—and he was not present. He had gone out on business. Now was just the nick of time for Cassio to bespeak Desdemona's intercession, and now was

just the nick of time on which that intercession was by him bespoken. Nothing could be more nicely critical or opportune.

T. Between us, sir, we have tied down Scene III. of Act Third to the Forenoon of the Second Day at Cyprus.

N. We have tied down Shakspere thus far to Short Time at Cyprus—and to Short Time we shall tie him down till the Catastrophe. Othello murdered Desdemona that very night.

T. No-no-no. Impossible.

N. Inevitably—and of a dead certainty. Why, you Owl! we have just seen Cassio slink away—all is plain sailing now—Talboys—for Iago by four words seals her doom.

"Ha! I like not that!
Othello. What dost thou say?
Iago. Nothing, my lord: or if—I know not what.
Othello. Was not that Cassio parted from my wife?
Iago. Cassio, my Lord? No, sure; I cannot think it,
That he would steal away so guilty-like
Seeing you coming."

Mark what follows—there is not a moment of intermission in the Action down to end of this Scene Third of Act Third, which you well call the Scene of Scenes, by which time Othello has been convinced of Desdemona's guilt, and has resolved on her Death and Cassio's.

T. Not a moment of intermission! Let's look to it—if it indeed be so—

N. See—hear Desdemona pleading for Cassio—see, hear Othello saying—"Not now, sweet Desdemona;" and then again—"Prythee, no more: let him come when he will—I will deny thee nothing." And again—

"I will deny thee nothing;
Whereon, I do beseech thee, grant me this,
To leave me but a little to myself.

Des. Shall I deny you? no: Farewell, my lord.

[Exit with Emilia."

Turn over leaf after leaf—without allowing yourself to read that dreadful colloquy between the Victim and his Destroyer—but letting it glimmer luridly by—till Desdemona comes back—and Othello, under the power of the Angel Innocence, exclaims—

"If she be false, O, then heaven mocks itself!— I'll not believe it."

T. I behold her! I hear her voice—"gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman."

> "Why is your speech so faint? are you not well? Oth. I have a pain upon my forehead here."

She drops that fatal handkerchief—

"I am very sorry that you are not well."

What touching words! They go out together—ignorant she that her husband hath heartache, worse than any headache—

N. Both to be effectually cured that night by—bleeding.

T. A sudden thought strikes me, sir. Desdemona has said to Othello-

> "Your dinner, and the generous Islanders By you invited, do attend your presence."

How's this? This looks like long time—

N. It may look like what it chooses—but we have proved that we are now on the forenoon of the Second Day at Cyprus.

T. Would it not have been treating them too unceremoniously to have sent round the cards of invitation only the night before? As far as I have been able to learn, they have long been in the habit of giving not less than a week's invitation to dinner at Cyprus. In Glasgow it is commonly three weeks. And why "generous?" cause they, the Islanders, have given a series of splendid entertainments to Othello and his Bride.

N. No nonsense, sir. Othello had done what you or I would have done, had either of us been Governor of Cyprus. He had invited the "generous Islanders," immediately on his landing, to dine at the Castle "next day." Had he not done so, he had been a hunks. "Generous," you know, as well as I do, means high-born-men of birth—not generous of entertainments.

T. True, too. But how comes it to be the dinner hour?

N. People dined in those days, all England over, about eleven A.M.—probably they dined still earlier in the unfashionable region of Cyprus. You are still hankering after the heresy of long time—but no more of that now—let us keep to our demonstration of short time—by-and-by you shall see the Gentleman with the Scythe—the Scythian at full swing—as long as yourself.

Othello and Desdemona have just gone out—to do the honours at the Dinner Table to the generous Islanders. He must have been a strange Chairman—for though not yet absolutely mad, his soul was sorely changed. Perhaps he made some apology, and was not at that Dinner at all—perhaps it was never eaten—but we lose sight of him for a little while; and Emilia, who remains behind, picks up the fatal handkerchief, and, with a strange wilfulness, or worse, says—

"I'll have the work ta'en out. And give't Iago."

Iago snatches it from her—and in soliloquy says—

"I will in Cassio's lodgings lose this napkin, And let him find it."

"This may do something,—
The Moor already changes with the poison:
Dangerous conceits are, in their natures, poisons,
Which at the first, are scarce found to distaste;
But, with a little, act upon the blood,
Burn like the mines of sulphur.—I did say so:—

Enter OTHELLO.

Look! where he comes! Not poppy, nor mandragora, Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world, .Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep Which thou ow'dst yesterday."

Then follows, without break, all the rest of this dreadful Third Scene. The first dose of the poison—the second, and third, and fourth—are all given on one and the same day. The mineral has gnawed through all the coats of the stomach—and He has sworn to murder Her—all in one day. We have Iago's word for it. Yester-day his sleep was sweet—how happy he was then we can imagine—how miserable he is now we see—"what a difference to him," and in him, between Saturday and Sunday!

"O, blood! Iago, blood!

* * *

Now by yond' marble heaven,

In the due reverence of a sacred vow. I here engage my words. Iago. Do not rise yet. Kneels. Witness, you ever-burning lights above! You elements, that clip us round about! Witness, that here Iago doth give up, The execution of his wit, hands, heart, To wrong'd Othello's service! Let him command, And to obey shall be in me remorse, What bloody work soever."

T. Thou Great original Short-Timeist! Unanswerable art Thou. But let us look at the close of this dreadful Third Act.

> "Othello. I greet thy love, Not with vain thanks, but with acceptance bounteous, And will upon the instant put thee to't: Within these three days let me hear thee say, That Cassic's not alive. Iago. My friend is dead; 'tis done at your request: But let her live.

Othello. Damn her, lewd minx! O, damn her! Come, go with me apart; I will withdraw, To furnish me with some swift means of death To the fair devil. Now art thou my lieutenant. Iago. I am your own for ever."

In three days—at the longest—for Cassio;—but Iago understood, and did it that very night. And swift means of death for the fair devil were in Othello's own hands—ay—he smothered her that night to a dead certainty—a dead certainty at last—though his hands seem to have faltered.

N. In the next Scene—Scene IV.—we find Desdemona anxious about the loss of the handkerchief, but still totally unapprehensive of the Moor's jealousy-

> "Who—he? I think the sun, where he was born, Drew all such humours from him."

Othello enters, saying, "Well, my good Lady,"—and mutters aside, "Oh! hardness to dissemble"—and very ill he does dissemble, for he leaves Desdemona and Emilia amazed at his mad deportment, the latter exclaiming—"Is not this man jealous?" Iago had told Othello of Cassio's possessing the handkerchief in the previous Scene, and Othello takes the first opportunity, that same afternoon, to

ascertain for himself whether she had parted with it. Would he have let an hour elapse before making the inquiry? Can it be for a moment imagined that he passed days and nights with Desdemona without attempting to sound her regarding this most pregnant proof of her guilt? This Scene concludes the Third Act—and the time is not long after dinner.

T. All this being proved, it is unnecessary to scrutinise the consecution of the Scenes of Acts Fourth and Fifth—Iago's work is done—one day has sufficed—and what folly to bring in long time after this—when his presence would have been unsupportable—had it not been impossible. Death must follow doom.

N. Death must follow doom. In these four words you have settled the question of time. Long time seemed necessary to change Othello into a murderer—and all the world but you and I believe that long time there was; but you and I know better—and have demonstrated short time—for at the end of the "dreadful Third Act" Othello is a murderer—and what matters it now when he really seized the pillow to smother her, or unsheathed the knife?

T. It matters not a jot. But he did the deed that same night—or he had not been Othello.

N. There again—or he "had not been Othello." In these four words you have settled the question of time—now and for ever.

T. It would be a waste of words, sir, to seek to prove by the consecution of the Scenes in Acts Fourth and Fifth—though nothing could be easier—that he did murder her that very night.

N. Very few will suffice. Act IV. begins a little before suppertime. Bianca enters in Scene I. inviting Cassio to supper—"An you'll come to supper to-night, you may." If anything were wanting to connect the closing Scene of Act III. with this opening Scene of Act IV. it is fully supplied by Bianca, who at the end of Act III. gets the handkerchief, in order that she may copy it, and in the scene of this Fourth Act, comes back in a fury. "Let the devil and his dam haunt you—what did you mean by that same handkerchief you gave me even now? I was a fine fool to take it." Cassio had given it to her a little after dinner, and Bianca, inviting him to supper, says he had given it to her EVEN NOW. This Scene I. of Act IV. ends

with Othello's invitation to the newly arrived Lodovico—"I do entreat that we may sup together." Scene II. comprehends the interview between Othello and Emilia; Othello and Desdemona—Desdemona, Emilia and Iago. The whole do not occupy an hour of time—they follow one another naturally, and the action is continuous. Scene III. shows Lodovico and the Noble Venetians still at the Castle—but now it is after supper. Lodovico is departing—

"I do beseech you, sir, trouble yourself no farther.

Othello. O pardon me; 'twill do me good to walk.

O Desdemona!

Desdemona. My Lord?

Othello. Get you to bed on the instant, I will be returned forthwith."

Desdemona obeys—the bed-scene follows—and she is murdered.

Verdict: Desdemona Murdered by Othello on the Second Night in Cyprus.

Scene III.

N. Having demonstrated Short Time at Cyprus, let us now, if it pleases you, gentlemen, show forth Long Time at Cyprus.

As in our demonstration of Short Time at Cyprus, we, purposely and determinedly, and wisely kept Long Time out of sight, on account of the inextricable perplexity and confusion that would otherwise have involved the argument, so now let us, in showing forth Long Time at Cyprus, keep out of sight Short—and then shall we finally have before our ken Two Times at Cyprus, each firmly established on its own ground—and imperiously demanding of the Critics of this great Tragedy—Reconcilement. Reconcilement it may be beyond their power to give—but let them first see the Great Fact which not one of the whole set have seen—HAND IN HAND ONE DAY AND UNASSIGNED WEEKS! The condition is altogether anomalous—

T. A DAY OF THE CALENDAR, AND A MONTH OF THE CALENDAR! No human soul ever dreams of the dreadful sayings and doings all coming off in a day! till he looks—till he is made to look—as we have made Seward and Buller to look—for they heard every word we said—and finds himself nailed by Act and Scene.

N. To some FIFTEEN HOURS.

N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1876.

- B. I thought you were going to show forth Long Time at Cyprus.
 - N. Why, there it is, staring you in the face everywhere-

T. Long Time cunningly insinuates itself, serpentwise, throughout Desdemona's first recorded conversation with Cassio, at the beginning of Scene III., Act III.—the "Dreadful Scene." Thus—

"Assure thee,
If I do vow a friendship, I'll perform it
To the last article: my lord shall never rest;
I'll watch him tame, and talk him out of patience;
His bed shall seem a school, his board a shrift;
I'll intermingle everything he does
With Cassio's suit: Therefore be merry, Cassio;
For thy solicitor shall rather die
Than give thy cause away."

This points to a protracted time in the future—and though announcing an intention merely, yet somehow it leaves an impression that Desdemona carries her intention into effect—that she does "watch him tame," does make his "bed seem a school"—does "intermingle everything she does with Cassio's suit." The passage recurred to my mind, I recollect, when you first hinted to me the question of time; and no doubt it tells so on the minds of many—

Then Desdemona says—

"How now, my lord?
I have been talking with a suitor here,
A man that languishes in your displeasure."

I cannot listen to that line, even now, without a feeling of the heart-sickness of protracted time—"hope deferred maketh the heart sick"—languishes! even unto death. I think of that fine line in Wordsworth—

"So fades-so languishes-grows dim, and dies."

Far on in this Scene, Othello says to Iago-

"If more thou dost perceive, let me know more: Set on thy wife to observe."

Iago has not said that he had perceived anything, but Othello, greatly disturbed, speaks as if Iago had said that he had perceived a good deal; and we might believe that they had been a long time at Cyprus. Othello then says—

"This honest creature, doubtless, Sees and knows more, much more, than he unfolds."

In all this, sir, we surely have a feeling of longish time.

"O curse of marriage!
That we can call those delicate creatures ours—And not their appetites."

This is the language of a some-time married man—not of a man the morning after his nuptials.

N. The Handkerchief.

T. Ay-Emilia's words.

"I am glad I have found this napkin;
This was her first remembrance from the Moor—
My wayward husband hath a hundred times
Woo'd me to steal it; but she so loves the token,
(For he conjur'd her, she would ever keep it,)
That she reserves it evermore about her,
To kiss, and talk to."

Here we have long time, and no mistake. Iago has wooed her to steal it a hundred times! When and where? Since their arrival at Cyprus.

S. I don't know that,

T. Nor do I. But I say the words naturally give us the impression of long time. In none of his soliloquies at Venice, or at Cyprus on their first arrival, has Iago once mentioned that Handkerchief as the chief instrument of his wicked design—and therefore Emilia's words imply weeks at Cyprus,—

"What will you give me now

For that same handkerchief?

Iago. What handkerchief?

Emilia. Why, that the Moor first gave to Desdemona
That which so often you did bid me steal."

N. Go on.

T. "What sense had I of her stolen hours of lust?
I saw it not—thought it not—it harm'd not me—
I slept the next night well—was free and merry;
I found not Cassio's kisses on her lips."

Next night—night after night—many nights—many wedded nights—long time at Cyprus.

- N. And then Cassio's dream.
- T. "I lay with Cassio—lately." Where, but at Cyprus? "Cursed fate! that gave thee to the Moor." And on Othello going off in a rage about the handkerchief—what saith Desdemona?—

"I ne'er saw this before."

These few words are full charged with long time.

- N. They are. And Emilia's—"'Tis not a year or two shows us a man." True, that is a kind of general reflection—but a most foolish general reflection indeed, if made to a Wife weeping at her husband's harshness the day after marriage.
- T. Emilia's "year or two" cannot mean one day—it implies weeks—or months. Desdemona then says,—

"Something, sure, of state, Either from Venice, or some unhatch'd practice," &c.

Does not that look like long time at Cyprus? Unlike the language of one who had herself arrived at Cyprus from Venice but the day before. And in continuation, Desdemona's

"Nay, we must think, men are not gods; Nor of them look for such observances As fit the bridal."

And that thought brings sudden comfort to poor Desdemona, who says sweetly—

"Beshrew me much, Emilia, I was (unhandsome warrior as I am,) Arraigning his unkindness with my soul; But now, I find, I had suborn'd the witness, And he's indited falsely."

That is—why did I, a married woman some months old, forget that the honeymoon is gone, and that my Othello, hero as he is, is now—not a Bridegroom—but a husband? "Men are not gods."

- N. And Bianca? She's a puzzler.
- T. A puzzler, and something more.

"Bianca. Save you, friend Cassio!
Cassio. What make you from home?
How is it with you, my most fair Bianca?
I'faith, sweet love, I was coming to your house.
Bianca. And I was going to your lodging, Cassio.

What! keep a week away? seven days and nights? Eight score eight hours? And lovers' absent hours, More tedious than the dial eight score times? O weary reckoning!

Cassio. Pardon me, Bianca;
I have this while with leaden thoughts been press'd;
But I shall, in a more continuate time,
Strike off the score of absence."

Here the reproaches of Bianca to Cassio develop long time. For, besides his week's absence from her house, there is implied the preceding time necessary for contracting and habitually carrying on the illicit attachment. Bianca is a Cyprus householder; Cassio sups at her house; his intimacy, which has various expressions of continuance, has been formed with her there; he has found her, and grown acquainted with her there, not at Venice. I know it has been suggested that she was his mistress at Venice—that she came with the squadron from Venice; and that her last cohabitation with Cassio had taken place in Venice about a week ago—but for believing this there is here not the slightest ground. "What! keep a week away?" would be a strange exclamation, indeed, from one who knew that he had been but a day on shore—had landed along with herself yesterday from the same ship—and had been a week cooped up from her in a separate berth. And Bianca, seeing the handkerchief, and being told to "take me this work out," cries-

"O Cassio! whence came this?
This is some token from a newer friend.
To the felt absence now I feel a cause."

"To the felt absence," Eight score eight hours! the cause? Some new mistress at Cyprus—not forced separation at sea.

N. Then, Talboys, in Act IV., Scene I., Othello is listening to the conversation of Iago and Cassio, which he believes relates to his wife. Iago says—

"She gives it out that you shall marry her;
Do you intend it?

Cassio. Ha! ha! ha!

Othello. Do you triumph, Roman? Do you triumph?

Iago. Faith! the cry goes, that you shall marry her.

Cassio. Pr'ythee, say true.

Iago. I am a very villain else.
Othello. Have you scored me? Well."

That is, have you marked me for destruction, in order that you may marry my wife? Othello believes that Cassio is said to entertain an intention of marrying Desdemona, and infers that, as a preliminary, he must be put out of the way. This on the first day after marriage? No, surely—long time at Cyprus.

T. Iago says to Cassio,

"My Lord is fallen into an epilepsy:
This is his second fit: he had one yesterday.

Cassio. Rub him about the temples.

Iago. No, forbear;
The lethargy must have his quiet course:
If not, he foams at mouth; and, by-and-by,
Breaks out to savage madness."

This is a lie—but Cassio believes it. Cassio could not have believed it, and therefore Iago would not have told it, had "yesterday" been the day of the triumphant, joyful, and happy arrival at Cyprus. Assuredly, Cassio knew that Othello had had no fit that day; that day he was Othello's lieutenant—Iago but his Ancient—and Iago could know nothing of any fits that Cassio knew not of—therefore—Long Time.

N. "For I will make him tell the tale anew,
Where, how, how oft, how long ago, and when,
He hath—and is again to—"

He does so—and Othello believes what he hears Cassio tell of Bianca to be of Desdemona. Madness any way we take it—but madness possible only—on long time at Cyprus.

T. Then, sir, the trumpet announcing the arrival of Lodovico from Venice, at the close of Iago's and Othello's murderous colloquy, and Lodovico giving Othello a packet containing—his recall!

"They do command him home, Deputing Cassio in his government."

What are we to make of that?

N. The Recall, except after considerable time, would make the policy of the Senate frivolous—a thing Shakspere never does, for the greatness of political movements lies everywhere for a support to the

strength and power of his tragical fable. Half that we know of Othello out of the Scenes is, that he is the trusted General of the Senate. What gravity his esteem with you derives hence, and can we bear to think of him superseded without cause? Had Lodovico, who brings the new commission, set off the day after Othello from Venice? No. You imagine an intercourse, which has required time, between Othello, since his appointment, and the Senate. Why, in all the world, do they thus suddenly depose him, and put Cassio in his place? You cannot well think that the very next measure of the Senate, after entrusting the command of Cyprus, their principal Island, to their most tried General, in most perilous and critical times, was to displace him ere they hear a word from him. They have not had time to know that the Turkish Fleet is wrecked and scattered, unless they sit behind Scenes in the Green-room.

T. We must conclude that the Senate must give weeks or months to this New Governor ere interfering with him.—To recall him before they know he has reached Cyprus—nay, to send a ship after him next day—or a day or two following his departure—would make these "most potent, grave, and reverend Signors," enigmas, and the Doge an Idiot. What though a steamer had brought tidings back to Venice that the Turks had been "banged" and "drowned?" That was not a sufficient reason to order Othello back before he could have well set his foot on shore, or taken more than a look at the state of the fortifications, in case the Ottoman should fit out another fleet.

N. Then mark Lodovico's language. He asks, seeing Othello strike his wife—as well he may—"Is it his use?" Or did the letters "work upon his blood, and new-create this fault?" And Iago answers, "It is not honesty in me to speak what I have seen and known." Lodovico says, "The noble Moor, whom our Senate call all in all sufficient." Then they have not quarrelled with him, at least—nor lost their good opinion of him! Iago answers, "He is much changed?" What, in a day? And again—"It is not honesty in me to speak what I have seen and known." What, in a day? Lodovico comes evidently to Othello after a long separation—such as affords room for a moral transformation; and Iago's words——lies

as they are—and seen to be lies by the most unthinking person—yet refer to much that has passed in an ample time—to a continued course of procedure.

T.1 But in all the Play, nothing is so conclusive of long time as the Second Scene of the Third Act.

"Othello. You have seen nothing, then?

Emilia. Nor ever heard; nor ever did suspect.

Othello. Yes, you have seen Cassio and she together.

Emilia. But then I saw no harm; and then I heard

Each syllable, that breath made up between them.

Othello. What, did they never whisper?

Emilia. Never, my Lord.

Othello. Nor send you out o' the way ?

Emilia. Never.

Othello. To fetch her fan, her gloves, her mask, nor nothing?

Emilia. Never, my Lord.

Othello. That's strange."

If all this relates to their residence at Cyprus, it indicates many weeks.

N. Then a word about Emilia. "I prythee, let thy wife attend on her," says Othello, going on board at Venice, to Iago. In the slight way in which such arrangements can be touched, this request is conclusive evidence to Emilia's being then first placed about Desdemona's person. It has no sense else; nor is there the slightest ground for supposing a prior acquaintance, at least intimacy. What had an Ensign's wife to do with a Nobleman's daughter? and now she is attached as an Attendant. Now, consider, first, Emilia's character. She seems not very principled, not very chaste. She gives you the notion of a tolerably well-practised Venetian Wife. Hear Iago's opinion, who suspects her with two persons, and one on general rumour. Yet how strong her affection for Desdemona, and her faith in her purity! She witnesses for her, and she dies for her! I ask, how long did that affection and that opinion take to grow? a few days at Venice, and a week while they were sea-sick aboard ship? No. Weeks-months. A gentle lady once made to me that fine remark,-" Emilia has not much worth in herself, but is raised into worth by her contact with Desdemona-into heroic

Assigned to North in Blackwood by mistake. - ED.

worth!" "I care not for thy sword-I'll make thee known, though I lost twenty lives." And that bodeful "Perchance, Iago, I will ne'er go home"! what does it mean? but a dim surmise, or a clear, that what she will disclose will bring the death upon her from his dagger, which it brings. The impure dying a voluntary martyr for the pure is to the highest degree affecting—is the very manner of Shakspere, to express a principal character by its influence on subordinate ones—has its own moral sublimity; but more than all, for our purpose, it witnesses time. Love, and Faith, and Fidelity, won from her in whom these virtues are to be first created! Othello, in his wrath, calls Emilia "a closet-lock-and-key of villanous secrets: and yet she'll kneel and pray; I have seen her do't." Where and when? It could only have been at Cyprus; and such language denotes a somewhat long attendance there on Desdemona. "Some of your function, mistress," renewed to Emilia — when, after conversing with Desdemona, Othello is going out—is his treatment of one whom he supposes to have been serviceable to his wife's and Cassio's amour. Where? There, only there, in Cyprus, by all witnessing, palpably. She could not before. He speaks to her as professional in such services, therefore long dealing in them; but this all respects this one intrigue, not her previous life. The wicked energy of the forced attribution vanishes, if this respects anything but her helpfulness to his wife and her paramour, and at Cyprus—there -only there. Nothing points to a farther back looking suspicion. Iago's "thousand times committed" can only lengthen out the stay at Cyprus. Othello still believes that she once loved him—that she has fallen to corruption. Could he have the most horrible, revolting, and loathsome of all thoughts, that he wedded her impure? and not a hint given of that most atrocious pang? Incredible—impossible! I can never believe, if Shakspere intended an infidelity taking precedency of the marriage, that he would not by word or by hint have said so. Think how momentous to our intelligence of the jealousy the date is; not as to Tuesday or Wednesday, but as to before or after the nuptial knot-before or after the first religious loosing of the virgin zone. That a man's wife has turned into a wanton-hell and horror! But that he wedded one-Pah! Faugh! Could Iago,

could Othello, could Shakspere have left this point in the chronology of guilt to be argued out doubtfully? No. The greatest of Poets for pit, boxes, and gallery, must have written intelligibly to pit, boxes, and gallery 1: and extrication, unveiled, after two hundred and fifty years, by studious men, in a fit of perplexity, cannot be the thunderbolt which Shakspere flung to his audience at the Globe Theatre.

T. You remember poor, dear, sweet Mrs Henry Siddons - the Desdemona—how she gave utterance to those words

"It was his bidding-therefore, good Emilia, Give me my nightly wearing, and adieu; We must not now displease him.

Emilia. I would you had never seen him!

Desdemona. So would not I; my love doth so approve him, That even his stubbornness, his checks, and frowns,—

Pr'ythee, unpin me,—have grace and favour in them.

Emilia. I have laid those sheets you bade me on the bed. Desdemona. All's one: Good father! how foolish are our minds!

If I do die before thee—pr'ythee shroud me In one of those same sheets."

The wedding sheets were reserved. They had been laid by for weeks-months-time long enough to give a saddest character to the bringing them out again—a serious, ominous meaning—disturbed from the quietude, the sanctity of their sleep by a wife's mortal presentiment that they may be her shroud.

N. Long time established at Cyprus.

Verdict—Desdemona murdered by Othello Heaven knows when.

SCENE IV.

S. To state MY THEORY: I IMAGINE, SIR, THAT SHAKSPERE ASSUMED THE MARRIAGE TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE SOME TIME BEFORE THE COM-MENCEMENT OF THE PLAY—SUFFICIENTLY LONG TO ADMIT THE POSSI-

^{1 &}quot;Pit, boxes, and gallery" constitutes a very ancient distinction. Every private theatre had a pit, for standing-room at a penny a head, and a twopenny gallery, where seats were provided, but not secured; and some had also boxes or separate "rooms," from sixpence to half-a-crown, of which the occupants had the keys. (See Collier's Hist. of the Stage, 1831, vol. iii. pp. 335-353.) These occupants, or other, appear to have had the right of sitting on the stage. - ED.

BILITY OF A COURSE OF GUILT BEFORE THE PLAY OPENS. I imagine that, with this general idea in his mind, he gave his full and unfettered attention to the working out of the Plot, which has no reference to the time, circumstances, or history of the Marriage, but relates exclusively to the Moor's Jealousy. Therefore the indications of past time at Venice are vague, and rarely scattered through the Dialogue.

- T. A more astounding discovery indeed, Seward, than any yet announced by that Stunner, Christopher North. Pardon me, sir.
- S. Supposing that this was Shakspere's general idea of the Plot, I would first beg your attention to the fact that the marriage has taken place—none of us know how long—before the beginning of the Play.
 - T. The same night—the same night.
- S. I said—none of us know how long. The only evidence, my dear Talboys, as to the history of the marriage is that given by Roderigo in the First Scene. He, with the most manifest anxiety to prove himself an honest witness, declares that now, at midnight, Desdemona had eloped—NOT WITH the Moor, but with no "worse nor better guard, but with a knave of common hire, a gondolier, to," &c. &c. She has fled alone from her father's house; and Roderigo, being interrogated, "Are they married, think ye?" answers, "Truly I think they are."
 - T. What do you say to Iago's saying to Cassio—

"Faith he to-night has boarded a land Carrack:

If it prove lawful prize, he's made for ever.

Cassio. I do not understand.

Iago. He's married."

- S. It cannot be inferred, from these words, that this was the first occasion on which Desdemona and Othello had come together as man and wife. The words are quite consistent with the supposition that their marriage had taken place some time before; also quite consistent with Iago's knowledge of that event. It was not his cue or his humour to say more than he did. Why should he?
- T. It cannot be inferred! It can—I infer it. And pray, how do you account for Othello saying to Desdemona, on the day of their arrival at Cyprus,

"The purchase made—the fruits are to ensue; That profit's yet to come 'twixt me and you."

S. "The purchase made"—refers to the price which Othello had paid for [the] connubial delight with Desdemona awaiting him at Cyprus. That price was the peril which he had undergone during his stormy voyage, in his exuberant satisfaction, simply expressing a self-evident truth, that his happiness was yet before him. Had Desdemona been then a virgin bride, Othello would hardly have used such language. Iago speaks in his usual characteristic coarse way—so no need to say a word more on the subject.

T. Very well. Be it so. But why should such a private marriage have been resorted to; and if privacy was desirable at first, what change had occurred to cause the public declaration of it?

S. Othello had been nine months unemployed in war — the Venetian State was at peace—and he had been in constant intercourse with the Brabantios.

"Her father lov'd me-oft invited me;"

and he "took once a pliant hour" to ask Desdemona to be his wife. That "once" cannot refer to the day on which the Play commences; and that their marriage took place some time before, is alike reconcileable with the character of the "gentle Lady," and with that of the impetuous Hero. Still, a private marriage is, under any circumstances, a questionable proceeding; and our great Dramatist was desirous that as little of the questionable as possible should either be or appear in the conduct of the "Divine Desdemona;" and therefore he has left the private marriage very much in the shade. Her duplicity must be admitted, and allowance must be made for it. It was wrong, but not in the least unnatural, and perfectly excusable,—and grievously expiated. It is, you know, part of the proof of her capacity for guilt, that she so ingeniously deceived her father.

T. But why reveal it now?

S. Circumstances are changed. The Cyprus wars have broke out, and Othello is about to be commissioned to take the command of the Venetian force

"I do know, the State Cannot with safety cast him, for he's embarked

With such loud reason to the Cyprus wars, Which even now stand in act, that for their souls Another of his fathom have they not To lead this business."

It was therefore necessary that the marriage should be declared, if Desdemona was to accompany her husband to Cyprus. And the elopement from her father to her husband did take place just in time. All the difficulties of Time are thus removed in a moment. In a blaze of light we see Long Time at Venice—Short Time at Cyprus.

N. My dear Seward, let's hear how you support your Theory.

S. A great deal of weight, my dear Mr North, is to be attached to the calm tone—the husbandlike and matronlike demeanour of Othello and Desdemona when confronted with the Senate. That scene certainly impresses one with the conviction that they had been man and wife for a considerable period of time. I do indeed think, sir, that the bride and bridegroom show much more composure throughout the whole of that Scene, than is very reconcileable with the idea that this was their nuptial night. Othello's "natural and prompt alacrity" in undertaking the wars was scarcely complimentary to his virgin Spouse upon this supposition; and Desdemona's cool distinguishings between the paternal and marital claims on her duty seem also somewhat too matronly for the occasion.

N. Very good-very good-my dear Seward, I like your observation much, that the demeanour of the married pair before the Senate has a stamp of composure. That is finely felt; but I venture to aver, my dear friend, that we must otherwise understand it. dignity of their spirits it is that holds them both composed. Invincible self-collectedness is by more than one person in the Play held up for a characteristic quality of Othello. To a mind high and strong, which Desdemona's is, the exigency of a grand crisis, which overthrows weaker and lower minds, produces composure; from a sense of the necessity for self-possession; and involuntarily from the tension of the powers-their sole direction to the business that passes-which leaves no thought free to stray into disorder, and the inquietude of personal regards. Add, on the part of Othello, the gravity, and on that of Desdemona the awe of the Presence in which

they stand, speak, and act; and you have ennobling and sufficing tragical, that is loftily and pathetically poetical, motives for that elate presence of mind which both show. Now all the greatness and grace vanish, if you suppose them calm simply because they have been married these two months. That is a reason fit for Thalia, not for Melpomene.

S. The Duke says—

"You must hence to-night.

Desdemona. To-night, my Lord?

Othello. With all my heart."

This faint expression of Desdemona's slight surprise and reluctance, and no more—is I allow—natural and delicate in her—whether wife, bride, or Maid—but Othello's "with all my heart" is—

- T. Equally worthy of Othello. You know it is.
- N. My dear Seward—do the Doge—Brabantio—the Senate understand and believe what Othello has been telling them—and that he has now disclosed to them the fact of a private marriage with Desdemona, of some weeks' or months' standing? Is that their impression?
 - S. I cannot say.
- N. I can. Or has Othello been reserved—cautious—crafty in all his apparent candour—and Desdemona equally so? Are they indeed oldish-married folk?
- T. Shocking—shocking. That Scene in the Council Chamber of itself deals your "Theory!" its death-blow.
- S. I look on it in quite another light. I shall be glad to know what you think is meant by Desdemona's to the Duke

"If I be left behind, The rites for which I love him are denied me."

What are the *rites* which are thus all comprehensive of Desdemona's love for Othello? The phrase is, to the habit of our ears, perhaps somewhat startling; yet five lines before she said truly "I saw Othello's visage in his mind"—a love of spirit for spirit. And again—

"To his honour and his valiant parts
Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate."

I think they had been married some time.

T. The word rites is the very word most fitting the Lady's lips—used in a generous, free, capacious sense—as of the solace entire which the wife of a soldier has, following him; as to dress his wounds, wind his laurels, hear his counsels, cheer his darker mood, smile away the lowering of the Elements—

S. You won't understand me.

N. No—no—no. It won't go down. I have opened my mouth far and wide, and it won't go down. Our friend Isaac Widethroat himself could not bolt it. The moral impossibility would choke him—that Othello would marry Desdemona to leave her at her Father's House, for which most perilous and entangling proceeding, quite out of his character, no motive is offered, or imaginable. The love-making might go on long—and I accept a good interval since he drew from her the prayer for his history. The pressure of the war might give a decisive moment for the final step, which must have been in agitation for some time—on Desdemona's behalf and part, who would require some persuasion for a step so desperate, and would not at once give up all hope of her father's consent, who "loved" Othello.

T. If they were married, how base and unmanly to steal one's wedded Wife out of one's Father-in-law's house! The only course was to have gone in the middle of the day to Brabantio and say, "this we have done"—or "this I have done. Forgive us, if you can—we are Man and Wife." Men less kingly than Othello have ofter done it. To steal in order to marry was a temptation with a circumstantial necessity—a gallant adventure in usual estimation.

N. The thing most preposterous to me in a long marriage at Venice, is the continued lying position in which it places Othello and Desdemona towards her father. Two months—say—or three or four—of difficult deception! when the uppermost characteristic of both is clear-souledness—the most magnanimous sincerity. By that, before anything else, are they kindred and fit for one another. On that, before anything else, is the Tragedy grounded—on his unsuspicious openness which is drawn, against its own nature, to suspect her purity that lies open as earth's bosom to the sun. And she is to be killed for a dissembler! In either, immense contrast between the

person and fate. That These Two should truckle to a domestic lie!

- T. No. The Abduction and Marriage were of one stroke—one effort—one plot. When Othello says, "That I have ta'en away—that I have married her"—he tells literally and simply that which has happened as it happened, in the order of events.
- S. Why should not Othello marry Desdemona, and keep her at her father's as theorised ?
- N. It is out of his character. He has the spirit of command, of lordship, of dominion—an animus imperiosus. This element must be granted to fit him for his place; and it is intimated, and is consistent with and essential to his whole fabric of mind. Then, he would not put that which belonged to him out of his power, in hostile keeping—his wife and not his wife. It is contrary to his great love, which desires and would feed upon her continual presence. And against his discretion, prudence, or common sense, to risk that Brabantio, discovering, might in fury take sudden violent measures—shut her up in a convent, or turn her into the streets, or who knows what—kill her.
- T. Then the insupportable consideration and question, how do they come together as man and wife? Does she come to his bedroom at his private Lodgings, or his quarters at the Sagittary? Or does he go to hers at her father's, climbing a garden wall every night like Romeo, bribing the porter, or trusting Ancilla? You cannot figure it out any way without degradation, and something ludicrous; and a sense of being entangled in the impracticable.
- N. The least that can be said is, that it invests the sanctimony of marriage with the air of an illicit amour.
- T. Then the high-minded Othello running the perpetual and imminent risk of being caught thieving—slipping through loop-holes—mouse-holes—key-holes. What in Romeo and Juliet is romance, between Othello and Desdemona is almost pollution.
- N. What a desolating of the Manners of the Play! Will you then, in order to evade a difficulty of the mechanical construction, clog and whelm the poetry, and moral greatness of the Play, with a preliminary debasement? Introduce your Hero and Heroine under a cloud?

T. And how can you show that Othello could not at any moment have taken her away, as at last you suppose him to do, having a motive? Mind—he knows that the wars are on—he does not know he shall be sent for that night. He does not know that he may not have to keep her a week at his quarters.

N. My dear Seward—pray, meditate but for a moment on these words of Desdemona in the Council Chamber—

> "My noble Father, I do perceive here a DIVIDED DUTY: My life and education both do learn me How to respect you; you are the LORD of DUTY, I am hitherto your Daughter: But HERE'S MY HUSBAND; And so much duty as my mother showed To you, preferring you before her Father, So much I challenge that I may profess Due to the Moor, my Lord."

These are weighty words—of grave and solemn import—and the time has come when Desdemona the Daughter is to be Desdemona the Wife. She tells simply and sedately—affectionately and gratefully the great primal Truth of this our human and social life. Hitherto her Father has been to her the Lord of Duty—the Lord of Duty henceforth is to be her Husband. Othello, up to that night, had been but her Lover; and up to that night-for the hidden wooing was nothing to be ashamed of or repented—there had been to her no "divided Duty"—to her Father's happiness had been devoted her whole filial heart. But had she been a married woman for weeks or months before, how insincere—how hypocritical had that appeal been felt by herself to be, as it issued from her lips! The Duty had, in that case, been "divided" before—and in a way not pleasant for us to think of-to her Father violated or extinct.

T. I engage, Seward, over and above what our Master has made manifest, to show that though this Theory of yours would remove some difficulties attending the time in Cyprus, it would leave others just where they are—and create many more.

N. Grant that Othello and Desdemona must be married for two months before he murders her—that our hearts and imaginations require it. The resemblance to the ordinary course of human affairs N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1876. 25

asks it. We cannot bear that he shall extinguish her and himselfboth having sipped only, and not quaffed from the cup of hymeneal felicity. Your soul is outraged by so harsh and malignant a procedure of the Three Sisters. Besides, in proper poetical equilibration. he should have enjoyed to the full, with soul and with body, the happiness which his soul annihilates. And men do not kill their wives the first week. It would be too exceptional a case. Extended time is required for the probability—the steps of change in the heart of Othello require it—the construction and accumulation of proofs require it—the wheel of events usually rolls with something of leisure and measure. So is it in the real World-so must it seem to be on the Stage-else no verisimilitude-no "veluti in speculum." "Two months shall elapse between marriage and murder," says Shakspere -going to write. They must pass at Venice, or they must pass at Place Shakspere in this position, and which will he choose? If at Venice, a main requiring condition is not satisfied. For in the fits and snatches of the clandestine marriage, Othello has never possessed with full embrace, and heart overflowing, the happiness which he destroys. If an earthquake is to ruin a palace, it must be built up to the battlements and pinnacles; furnished, occupied, made the seat of Pleasure, Pomp, and Power; and then shaken into heaps-or you have but half a story. Only at Cyprus Othello possesses Desdemona, There where he is Lord of his Office, Lord over the Allegiance of soldier and civilian-of a whole population-Lord of the Island, which, sea-surrounded, is as a world of itself-Lord of his will-Lord of his Wife.

T. I feel, sir, in this view much poetical demonstration—although mathematical none—and in such a case Poetry is your only Principia.

N. Your hand. But if, my dear Seward, Shakspere elects time at Venice, he wilfully clouds his two excellent Persons with many shadows of indecorum, and clogs his Action with a procedure and a state of affairs, which your Imagination loses itself in attempting to define—with improbabilities—with impracticabilities—with impossibilities. If he was resolute to have a well-sustained logic of Time, I say it was better for him to have his Two Months distinct at Cyprus. I say that, with his creative powers, if he was determined to have

Two Calendar Months from the First of May to the First of July, and then in One Day distinctly the first suspicion sown and the murder done, nothing could have been easier to him than to have imagined, and indicated, and hurried over the required gap of time; and that he would have been bound to prefer this course to that inexplicable marriage and no marriage at Venice.

B. How he clears his way!

N. But Shakspere, my dear Boys, had a better escape. Wittingly or unwittingly, he exempted himself from the obligation of walking by the Calendar. He knew—or he felt that the fair proportionate structure of the Action required liberal time at Cyprus. He took it; for there it is, recognized in the consciousness of every sitting or standing spectator. He knew, or he felt, that the passionate expectation to be sustained in the bosoms of his audience required a rapidity of movement in his Murder-Plot, and it moves on feet of fire.

S. Venice is beginning to fade from my ken.

N. The first of all necessities towards the Criticism of the Play, Seward, is to convince yourself that there was not—could not be a time of concealed marriage at Venice—that it is not hinted, and is not inferable.

B. Shall we give in, Seward?

S. Yes.

N. You must go to the TREMENDOUS DOUBLE TIME AT CYPRUS, knowing that the solution is to be had there, or nowhere. If you cast back a longing lingering look towards Venice, you are lost. Put mountains and waves between you and the Queen of the Sea. Help yourself through at Cyprus, or perish in the adventure.

T. Through that Mystery, you alone, sir, are the Man to help us through—and you must.

N. Not now—to-morrow. Till then be revolving the subject occasionally in your minds.

Professor Wilson never resumed the subject in Blackwood.—ED.

I. c. THE DRAMATIC UNITIES OF SHAKSPERE,

BY REV. N. J. HALPIN.

" Ut pictura Poesis."

I. Unity of Subject or Fable is an essential quality in any work of Art, in every department of the Arts. Whether in a ballad or a history, whether in statuary or architecture, in painting or music, unity of design is so absolute a necessity that its absence or infringement mars the beauty and excellences of the production whatever it may In this respect Shakspere is perfectly regular. Through all his pieces this unity of fable prevails; and wherever it appears to be infringed, it will be found, on the slightest examination, that the several parts constitute a whole of which each part is the sine quâ non of the rest. Thus the Merchant of Venice is supposed by the critics to be constructed of two fables, very artfully united, viz. the fortunes of Bassanio and Portia, and the misfortunes of Antonio and Shylock. But the fable is absolutely one and the same. The borrowing of the money on a bond is the sine quâ non of the marriage between Bassanio and the wealthy heiress; and this marriage, again, the sine qua non of Antonio's deliverance from death and the confiscation of Shylock's property. Even the elopement of Jessica with a Christian husband and laden with Jewish wealth is a circumstance essential to the barbarity of Shylock's pursuit of vengeance. is in no one drama of Shakspere an instance in which the bonds of unity are less stringent than the sine quâ non condition.

II. The Unity of Place is a condition which the Greek lawgivers themselves did not think worthy of a rigid observance. Thus Euripides in *The Suppliants*, during the transit of a single ode, marches an army from Athens to Thebes, where the battle is fought, and whence the General returns victorious; and in the *Trachinians* of Sophocles, the voyage from Thessaly to Eubeea is thrice accomplished in the course of the piece. Nor was Terence more straightlaced than his masters. The action of his *Heautontimorumenos* commences in a city, migrates for a space to the country, and thence it returns to town. Place, or rather, the distance between two places (for with nothing more is dramatic action concerned), is treated by Shakspere simply as an element of time; that is to say, the time necessarily occupied in measuring the interval, whether on foot or by any sort of vehicle. Time and place in Shakspere's system are—

"a just equinox,
The one as long as the other."

His distances therefore never exceed "twenty miles" by land, or the "narrow seas" by water; and whenever he wants the advantage of an indefinite idea of time and distance, he systematically sends one party by sea and another by land to the same place. Thus in the Merchant of Venice, Bassanio goes first from Venice to Belmont by water, and Jessica and Lorenzo by land. In the Two Gentlemen of Verona, Valentine and Protheus travel by sea from Verona to Milan, and Julia by land; the Poet's object being, first to create an indefinite idea of the distance between the two places, and next, to check off the difference, by means of the several modes of traversing the interval in a given time.

And this is the invariable practice of Shakspere.

It is, however, in his treatment of the unity of *Time* as a dramatic element that Shakspere has (I believe) *invented*, but (most certainly) carried into execution, a species of unity more true, natural, and comprehensive, and not less artistic and symmetrical, than that of the ancients, and which far surpasses in its illusive powers "all Greek, all Roman Art." The narrow limits which Aristotle has graciously *extended* to a single revolution of the sun, that is to say, to four-and-twenty hours, are by far too combined and confined, either for the complete evolution of a noble and comprehensive action, or for the full and satisfactory development, of the human character.

'Go, Poins, to horse, to horse; for thou and I Have thirty miles to ride ere dinner time." 1 Henry IV, Act III. sc. iii.

¹ I know but of one exception, and that is where the Prince says:

² This expression, which was the ordinary name of the *Straits* between Dover and Calais, invariably suggests to the English mind a voyage which may be made in a *couple of hours*, with a favourable wind, or even in less time, with such gales as the Poet can supply at will.

With respect to the action, it must needs be compassed within an arbitrary limit of from three to four-and-twenty hours, partly visible to the spectator,-a limit too short for any great transaction-and partly audible through the dull, cold, and uninteresting narrative of the Nuncius. With reference to character, we can know but that brief phase of it which displays itself in the sudden and short transit of a single day, and in a single passion. It requires, in our actual experience of the world, weeks or months to become acquainted with the whole man, his passions, and his temperament, ere we can be probably assured that his character and conduct upon any given occasion is in harmony with what we would know of him in his general, ordinary, and habitual developments. In these respects it must be acknowledged that Shakspere's system has infinitely the advantage of the Grecian. Of the Medea of Euripides we know no more than the single phase in which we behold her in the play called by her name. With the Hamlet of Shakspere we have, as it were, a life-long acquaintance; we know, in the single transaction before us, the accordance of his present behaviour with the tenor of his general conduct.

But how is this *long* acquaintance to be reconciled with the confessedly *brief* period in which it has actually been acquired? Dramatic time is a very different thing from natural time. While natural time has no limit but that of experience, dramatic time has limits which the dramatist cannot pass without merging into barbarity. But there is a *natural* law limiting the time of the drama; and if we ask ourselves what is the drama, the answer will help us to ascertain the natural limit, and to distinguish it from the arbitrary.

The Drama, then, is the imitation by gesture, and in dialogue, of an action which the spectator is privileged to witness with unbroken (or sleepless) attention, at a single sitting, or "watch."

Its limit, therefore, as to time, corresponds with the period, more or less extended, during which a spectator may be supposed to be a sleepless witness of a transaction sufficiently interesting and important to engage his attention throughout that watch. But measured into days, or hours, what the length of that watch may be is a matter

of some doubt. Shakspere's own idea of a man's capability of watchfulness may be collected from what Iago says of Cassio:—,

"and do but see his vice;
"Tis to his virtue a just equinox,
The one as long as the other; . . .
He'll match the horologe a double set,
If drink rock not his cradle."

Othello, Act II. sc. iii.

Four-and-twenty hours, say the commentators; but as the Italian horologe numbers upon its dial-plate twenty-four hours, a "double set" or round, *i.e.* forty-eight hours, is the true time meant. "I feel it unpleasant to appeal to my own experience; but, having no other voucher at hand, I am constrained to do it.1"

On many occasions I have involuntarily outwatched the Florentine; and, upon one occasion at least, by twelve or fourteen hours. In my "salad days" of undergraduatecy, Sir Walter Scott's enchanted novel of Waverley fell into my hands; and being bound to return the volumes very quickly, and being much occupied by business during the day, I sat up during two successive summer nights at its perusal; nor did I feel any desire or necessity for sleep, until the usual time on the third night; an interval of no unpleasant watchfulness of sixand-fifty hours at the least, voluntarily endured. I need not add that, so occupied, I scarcely knew how time passed. Supposing then that every one could do what Shakspere has suggested, or I have done myself, I would assume a natural limit to the watch,—say, forty-eight or fifty-six consecutive hours; and I affirm that within that period the action of the Shaksperian drama is—almost universally—comprehended, and generally very much within that term. Now any other limitation, such as three, six, twelve, or twenty-four hours, is an arbitrary and unnatural law; improbable and needless where the true law so obviously reveals itself; and in this respect, I say, Shakspere's law transcends the law of the Greeks and Romans, and altogether eclipses the lights of the French school.

By this limitation, transactions which, according to our experience in life, would *naturally* occupy weeks, or months, nay years, are *dramatically* drawn within the compass of a few consecutive hours;

¹ Cowper's Preface to his Translation of Homer.

just as the almost interminable views of the landscape are represented in all verisimilitude on the uniform plane surface of a few feet of Indeed Shakspere appears to have done for time what the painter has done for space,—thrown it into perspective, and given to the remote and to the near its proper and distinctive place, colouring, and character, as each exists in the natural world. The one, upon the upright, plane, and (excepting colouring) unvaried surface of a small sheet of canvas, presents to the spectator's eye a landscape embracing space from its nearest foreground through all the varieties of hill and valley, until the distances melt in the imperceptible line, where the green earth or the blue sea melts into the undistinguishable horizon; the other, within the undisturbed loophole of a single watch, gathers up the passages and events of a transaction, from its remotest manifestations down to its perfect and present consummation. The arts of both are of a homogeneous nature, and may be at once characterized and distinguished by the analogous names of the perspective of space and the perspective of time. The painter produces his effects by means of lights and shades, by the force of his foreground colouring, by atmospheric effects, and the gradual feebleness of his background or distant tints. The poet produces his by a series of dates skilfully graduated through a course of events, from that which is actually visible and palpable to the eyes, to those transmitted only to the ears, or suggested to the spectator's imagination, through a hundred different channels, until the impression left upon his mind is an impression composed of the visible and the audible, the natural and the dramatic, the real and the illusory. Shakspere knew at least as well as Horace that

> "Segnius irritant animum demissa per aures, Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus."

Upon this well-known principle he contrived what one may term a *Chronometer*, consisting of a double series of time or dates; the one illusory, suggestive, and *natural*; the other artistical, visible and *dramatic*; the first of which may be called the PROTRACTIVE series, the latter the ACCELERATING: and out of the impressions, thus equally created, he constructed a dramatic system unknown to the world before his time and unpractised ever since. He was the first dis-

coverer, and, as far as my observation goes, the last practitioner, of an art which realizes in its full sense the canon of the Roman critic—

"UT PICTURA POESIS."

I do not conceive it to have been the poet's desire to impress the spectator or the reader of his works with a rigid belief in the extremes of either series of his dates; to insinuate that the accelerating gave the only true or the protractive, the altogether false idea of the time of his action. On the contrary, I maintain that, by means of this double series of dates,—of his "two clocks" (according to the happy illustration of Christopher North),—he meant to produce an illusory effect on the mind (such as people actually experience in the theatre), disabling it from ascertaining the genuine duration of the action, and only permitting it to form, out of the elements of both series, such a dim, hazy, and indistinct conception as may, nay must, arise from the involution of measures of time so artfully intermingled.

The obvious intent of the illusory progress, is to lead the imagination to conceive, that within the compass of a narrow but uninterrupted watch, it may have witnessed an entire transaction, more or less extended, from beginning to end—the present and the past, throughout all the intermediate gradations of old Father "Time with his pentarchy of tenses;" in some such way as the observer beholds in a painted landscape the whole space enclosed within the visible horizon, with all its hills and valleys, woods and rivers, from the foreground close at hand, to the dim spire or the shadowy mountain, distant many, many miles, although every point of the plane, upright surface before us is equally distant from the observer's eye.

Time-Analysis of The Merchant of Venice.

"Of the Merchant of Venice, the received opinion is, that the time of the dramatic action, including the term of the bond, extends to somewhat more than three months. This I conceive to be an illusion contrived by means of a double series of dates, one which protracts, the other which accelerates, the action; and that, in virtue

¹ So far Mr Halpin's Essay was written after he had read *Dies Boreales*, Part V. The subsequent part, which stands in notes of quotation, was in manuscript before Prof. Wilson's first discussion appeared in print.—ED.

of the latter, the dramatic time of the play is comprised within thirtynine consecutive hours.

The transaction naturally divides itself into two distinct periods,—with the interval between them.

- 1. The first period ranges from the opening of the action and the borrowing of Shylock's money, to the embarkation of Bassanio and his suite for Belmont:
- 2. The second includes the time between Bassanio's arrival at Belmont and his return to it, accompanied by Antonio after the trial:
- 3. And the *interval* between those two periods is *concurrent with* the time of the bond, whatever that may be.

Let us now examine each period of visible action by the dates exactly laid down in the text; and then fix the interval by the same rule.

ACCELERATING SERIES.

1. The action then commences with Bassanio's solicitation of the loan of 3000 ducats, and Antonio's direction to his friend to 'go presently inquire where money is to be had' (Act I. sc. ii.). Bassanio goes on his mission forthwith; meets with Shylock, agrees upon the terms, and invites him to dinner. The Jew consents to lend the money, but declines to 'smell pork' with the Christian, and he leaves the scene, directing the borrower to 'meet him forthwith at the notary's'; meanwhile he will

. 'go and purse the ducats straight;
See to his house, left in the fearful guard
Of an unthrifty knave; and presently
He will be with them [Bassanio and his friend].'
Act I. sc. ii.

As the invitation to dinner implies the time at which this part of the transaction takes place; and as the dinner hour in Shakspere's day was twelve o'clock, the time at which the action of the play commences is clearly indicated at a little before noon on the first day, say at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The first Act, therefore, cannot occupy more than a single hour.

The second Act, sc. ii., shows us Bassanio, having touched the ducats, making rapid preparations for his journey, giving to Lorenzo directions to stow his purchases orderly, and hasten his return:

'Return in haste, for I do feast to-night My best-esteemed acquaintance: hie thee, go.'

The supper hour, we also learn in the same scene, is fixed for *five* o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. 'Let it be so hasted,' says Bassanio, 'that supper be ready at the farthest by *five* of the clock.' At nine the supper party breaks up, and Bassanio embarks for Belmont. Thus,—

'Antonio. Fye, fye, Gratiano! where are all the rest?
. the wind is come about;
Bassanio presently will go aboard.'—Act II. sc. vi.

And thus the time occupied by the transaction of the first period is exactly limited to ten consecutive hours, viz.:

	Hours.
From the opening of the action to dinner time	1
From dinner time (12 o'clock) to supper (5 o'clock)	5
From supper (5 o'clock) to the embarkation (9 o'clock)	4
First Period	10

II. The second period of action begins with Bassanio's arrival at Belmont, and ends with his return to it, in company with Antonio, after the trial.

His arrival at Belmont is announced in the last scene of the second Act, thus:

'SERVANT. Madam, there is alighted at your gate A young Venetian, &c NERISSA. Bassanio, lord love, if thy will it be!'

And with those words ends the second Act.

The second scene of Act the Third presents Bassanio to Portia (not indeed a new acquaintance, nor now for the first time; for she had met (see Act I. sc. ii.) at her father's house, 'the Venetian, the scholar, and the soldier that had come thither in company of the Marquis of Montferrat,—whose name was Bassanio'); but in this scene Bassanio has his first interview, in the capacity of a suitor, with Portia; and the dialogue shows there has been no delay between the announcement of his arrival and his waiting upon the lady. She prays him to pause, to tarry, but he is too impatient to let a moment to interpose between his arrival and the decision of his fortune:

Bassanio. Let me choose,

For, as I am, I live upon the rack.

. . . Let me to my fortune and the caskets:'

Act III. sc. ii.

and forthwith proceeding to his election, he wins the inestimable prize.

Scarcely however has he done so, when the melancholy tidings reach him of the bankruptcy and peril of Antonio; and, under the directions of Portia, he

'First, goes with her to church, and calls her wife;'—Ibid.
and forthwith

'Leaves her on her wedding day.'—Ibid.

Under the positive engagement, however, that he will not sleep till his return.

'Bassanio. No bed shall e'er be guilty of my stay; No rest be interposer 'twixt us twain.'—Ibid.

Considering the very early hours which our forefathers, from the highest rank, to the lowest, were used to keep in Shakspere's time, it is not too early to assign this scene and the departure of Bassanio for Venice to about eight o'clock in the morning.

Portia has made up her mind at once to follow him, nay, even to be home again 'before her husband,' though she knows how speedily he has bound himself to return.

This resolve is put into execution (Act III. sc. iv.), after she has made short preparations for her toilet, given the charge of her household to Lorenzo, and despatched a letter to the Doctor Bellario at Padua, with directions to her messenger to meet her with the Doctor's answer at the *Tranect* with all expedition.

'Portia Waste no time in words, But get thee gone; I shall be there before thee.'—Act III. sc. ii.

This *Tranect* was the water-passage or ferry between the island on which Venice was built and the mainland on which Belmont stood; and, therefore, was in the direct line between her residence and the city to which she was going. The distance between the two points is clearly indicated by her speech to Nerissa, urging her to speed:

'But come, I'll tell thee all my whole device When I am in my coach, which stays for us At the park gate; and therefore haste away, For we must measure twenty miles to-day.'—Ibid.

Interpreted by the meaning of Bassanio's vow to return without sleeping and Portia's resolution to be back again at Belmont before him, these twenty miles must include the whole day's journey, which the lady had to make: that is, ten miles to Venice, and ten more returning. Venice, then, is but ten miles from Belmont, and the distance might be easily traversed, with a pair of horses to her coach, in a couple of hours. Taking then, eight o'clock A. M. for the time of the casket scene, and allotting four hours for the marriage ceremony, the preparations for the journey and the journey itself, Portia may have arrived at Venice by noon, and taken her place in court after the trial had been begun. But a very short time elapses at the trial scene (only the time of representation), when she again sets out on her return to Belmont, without even waiting for dinner; thus:

'Duke. Sir, I entreat you with me home to dinner. Portia. I humbly do desire your grace of pardon. I must away this night toward Padua, And it is meet I presently set forth.'—Act IV. sc. i.

Again she refuses an invitation from Bassanio, with 'that cannot be'; and having made no delay further than drawing up the deed which Shylock is to sign, and transmitting it to him, she sets out homeward-bound.

'Portia We'll away to-night,
And be a day before our husbands home.'—Act IV. sc. i.

Bassanio delays some while longer.

.... 'In the morning early will we both Fly toward Belmont.'—Act IV. sc. i.

quoth he to Antonio; and in the Fifth Act (which consists but of a single scene), we find him arriving in the garden there, some short time after his lady.

The Fifth Act opens by moonlight.

LORENZO. How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!

A courier enters and announces that

'His mistress will before the break of day Be here at Belmont.'

And she herself having to dally with the time,

. 'strayed about, By holy crosses, where she knelt and prayed For happy wedlock hours,'

shortly afterwards makes her appearance, while still the lamplight in her hall is distinctly visible,—

('The light we see is burning in my hall,')-

as she enters at a distance; so that it is still but dusky morn when she has finished her journey; and it is 'day,'

('Such as the day is when the sun is hid,')

when Bassanio entering, fulfils his promise that betwixt his departure and return

'No bed should e'er be guilty of his stay, No rest be interposer 'twixt them twain.'

Now that the whole transaction took place in summer, is evident from finding the household of Portia enjoying the beauties of the gardens of Belmont throughout a moonlight night; and considering the shortness of the Italian summer night, and that it is yet but faint and dusky dawn when the whole party re-assemble in the garden, we cannot place the final close of the dramatic action at a later hour than about two o'clock of the morning after the trial; that is to say, the second portion of the visible action cannot have occupied more time, than between eight o'clock A. M. of one day, and two o'clock in the forenoon of the succeeding, that is to say, eighteen consecutive hours.

Here, then, we have two distinct periods of time, every hour of which is ascertained and plainly accounted for; the first beginning with the loan, and ending with Bassanio's embarkation for Belmont; the second commencing with his arrival there, and terminating with the close of the drama. In the *interval*, whatever that be, comes the expiration of the bond. What is that *interval*? The received opinion takes it to be three months. Thus:

^{&#}x27;SHYLOCK. Three thousand ducats,—well!

Bassanio. Ay, sir, for three months.'—Act I. sc. iii.

It is my conviction, on the contrary,—a conviction which I can justify to demonstration by the text,—that the interval is really but a single night; that night, to wit, which intervenes between Bassanio's embarkation and his arrival at Belmont,—that night, in fact, which elapses between Jessica's flight with Lorenzo and her father's fresh and bitter objurgations on the following morning; and that, consequently, the received period of the bond is an illusory period. Let us observe the progress of events.

It was agreed upon that the fair fugitive and her lover (Jessica and Lorenzo) should take parts in a mask to be given at Bassanio's supper, and thence elope in the same ship with him. The mask, however, is suddenly put off by a favourable change of the wind, and Bassanio embarks and sets sail without them. But though—through some delay on their part—not on board his vessel, the Jewess and her lover set out upon their flight very shortly afterwards in a gondola. She is missed by her father immediately on his return from Bassanio's supper; his suspicions naturally fall on Bassanio, in whose friendship Lorenzo was known to hold a high place; the hue and cry is raised, and the following is a narrative of the events connected with this episode:

'Salarino. Why man, I saw Bassanio under sail; With him is Gratiano gone along; And in their ship, I am sure, Lorenzo is not.

Salanio. The villain Jew with outcries raised the Duke; Who went with him to search Bassanio's ship.

Salarino. He came too late, the ship was under sail; But there the Duke was given to understand, That in a gondola were seen together
Lorenzo and his amorous Jessica.

Besides, Antonio certified the Duke, They were not with Bassanio in his ship.'—Act II. sc. viii.

The fact, not very important in itself, is thus strongly impressed upon the mind of the audience, in order to fix with precision the time and manner of Jessica's elopement, and to show that it took place on the same night, and almost at the same moment, as Bassanio's embarkation, viz., at nine o'clock in the evening of the first day's action.

Thus in the eighth scene of the Second Act, we find Shylock in his first agonies of rage at his daughter's flight, 'So strange, outrageous, and so variable,' that:

'All the boys in Venice follow him, Crying,—his stones, his daughter, and his ducats:'

And in the first scene of the ensuing Act, we find him in the same continued and unabated state of excitement and frenzy, charging Salarino and Salanio with being accessories and accomplices to the flight and robbery. 'You knew,' says he, addressing those gentlemen, 'you knew, none so well, none so well as you, of my daughter's flight;' and their provoking and sarcastic answer is: 'That's certain; I, for my part, know the tailor that made the wings she flew withal.' They then continue to banter him and aggravate his temper, and, as this is obviously a continuation of Shylock's first intemperate rage, and the first interview, since the elopement, between him and his comfortable neighbours, whom (suspecting their knowledge of the facts) he would naturally soon seek out to obtain information, it cannot by any stretch of fancy be supposed to have taken place later than the first day (or rather morning) after the event, with the interval only of the intervening night. This scene then, be it remembered, is the first in the Third Act; and we have seen at the close of the preceding Act (II. ix.) that Bassanio had in the mean while arrived at Belmont. Thus the incident of Jessica's elopement overlaps at both ends the coincident journey of Bassanio; and whilst it proves that the time occupied by both is as nearly as possible the same (Jessica and Lorenzo arriving at Belmont during Bassanio's first interview with Portia), demonstrates that time to have been nothing longer than the single night which intervenes between Shylock's immediate search for his daughter, and his unabated fury and resentment on the following morning. Measuring, then, this incident in hours, from nine o'clock P. M. of the first day's action, to eight o'clock A. M. of the second day, during which the bond expires, or becomes forfeit, the interval is eleven hours.

This view is confirmed by another consideration: the ascertained distance between Belmont and Venice.

We have already seen that the distance between the two points is but ten miles. What, then, was Bassanio about for the three months supposed to have elapsed between the signing of the bond and its forfeiture? Was he cruising about the Gulf of Venice?—or did his

passage of the *Tranect* occupy all that time? Lorenzo and Jessica, who left Venice by a gondola about the same time that he did, arrived by land from thence nearly as soon as himself; and Salerio, who must have left Venice on the day after them, performs the same feat. Did they, likewise, spend three months upon the journey which Portia could traverse in her coach twice within twenty hours? In short, did Bassanio waste ninety-one days upon a voyage by sea, when he might, as he subsequently did in company with Antonio, have reached his destination in a couple of hours?

Certainly not. There is, therefore, some strong illusion as to the period of the bond; and if we observe the proofs, we must admit the contrivance to be profoundly artistical.

PROTRACTIVE SERIES.

The bond upon which ostensibly the money is lent is a bond for 'three thousand ducats at three months'; that upon which it is really advanced, is a bond substituted for the former, through the affected good nature and kindliness of Shylock. The first was, of course, the ordinary mercantile bond of the country, bearing the usual interest, payable at a certain specified date, and, doubtless, subject to the usual penalty of double the amount on forfeiture. Of the second we know little or nothing beyond the penalty on forfeiture,—'a pound of flesh,' &c. It is a 'merry bond,' drawn, signed, and sealed, in 'a merry sport.' It bears no interest, indeed, but we are left in ignorance of the sum really advanced, or of the time and place when and where it should become payable. The Jew's own description of the instrument is in the following very ambiguous terms:

'Go with me to a notary: seal me there

1 "A couple of hours." Thus Bassanio, after the trial, proceeding towards Antonio's house, he says to him:

"In the morning early will we both

Fly toward Belmont."—Act IV. sc. i. (at the end).

The earliest in the morning at which they could have departed would be after twelve o'clock at night. But we find them both arriving at Portia's dwelling in the dusk of a summer's dawning, say at two o'clock A. M. "This night," says Portia just as the friends are about to enter,—

"This night, methinks, is but the day-light sick;

It looks a little paler; 'tis a day

Such as the day is when the sun is hid."-Act V. sc. i.

Your single bond; and in a merry sport, If you repay me not on such a day, In such a place, such sum, or sums, as are Expressed in the condition, let the forfeit Be nominated for an equal pound Of your fair flesh,' &c.—Act I. sc. iii.

To lure the merchant more effectually into his snare, the Jew represents this proffer as an act of disinterested kindliness:

'I would be friends with you, and have your love; Forget the shames that you have stained me with; Supply your present wants, nor take no doit Of usance for my moneys, and you'll not hear me: This is kind I offer.'—Ibid.

And further to disarm them of all suspicion, he sneers at the absurdity of their supposing that, in any case, he would think of exacting the forfeiture. 'Pray you,' quoth he,

A penalty like this was not, with due time for preparation, likely to be incurred; still less, under such professions, to be enforced. The terms are agreed to, and Shylock proceeds alone to give the notary 'directions for this merry bond.' Antonio, in his reliance on the Jew's reasoning and assurances, signs and seals the instrument, perhaps without examination; and the deed being legally drawn up, and the penalty not unprecedented, he must abide the consequences of his own rash act.¹

Correct, however, in its technical forms, as this 'merry bond' may have been, we yet know that in some respect it was fraudulent

1 "He has been warned of the danger; but persists.

Bassanio. You shall not seal to such a bond for me.
Antonio. Why, fear not, man; I will not forfeit it."
And again:

[&]quot;Yes, Shylock, I will seal unto this bond."-Act I. sc. iii.

in its substance; for, at the trial, Shylock is charged with having

'Indirectly and directly too Contrived against the very life Of the defendant.'—Act IV. sc. i.

'Directly,' by proceeding with knife, scales, and weights, to exact the fatal forfeiture; and 'indirectly,' no doubt, by some fraudulent contrivance in the deed. What could this fraud have been? Comparing the date of the execution of the bond with the date of its expiring, we are led to the irresistible conclusion, that the fraud lay either in the omission of any date or period at all, or the substitution of a false one; and, in the latter case, we must suppose it was payable, according to a very unusual practice among merchants, at sight, or on demand. This view entirely reconciles the apparent discrepancy between the actual time of Bassanio's journey to Belmont, and the time of the bond's arrival at maturity; and Shakspere has taken care to account for the relentless rapidity with which Shylock takes savage advantage of his fraud. For no other purpose does he introduce the otherwise extraneous episode of Jessica's elopement with Lorenzo, in company, as it was thought, with Antonio's friend, and laden with her father's diamonds and ducats, than to exasperate the Jew's hatred of the Christian merchant, and to precipitate his revenge. Whilst yet raging for his daughter's flight, he has heard of Antonio's (supposed) 'loss by sea'; he hears, also, from Tubal, of 'divers of Antonio's creditors coming to Venice, that swear he cannot choose but break'; and knowing, by the recent transaction between them, that the merchant had neither 'money nor commodity to raise a present sum.' he rushes forthwith to demand payment, exclaiming as he goes, 'I will have the heart of him if he forfeit.' Antonio is unprepared for such a sudden and unexpected demand. The bond is dishonoured; the penalty is incurred. The Jew proceeds to his revenge; and for this characteristic trait we are prepared by the foreboding words of Antonio:

'If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not As to thy friends (for when did friendship take A breed of barren metal of his friend?) But lend it rather to thine enemy; Who, if he break, thou may'st with better face Exact the penalties.'—Act I. sc. iii. Now it is to be observed that Shylock had lent the money, 'as to a friend'; but the real or affected exasperation of his daughter's elopement enables him to exact the penalty with 'better face,' and he loses not a moment to resume his enmity.

On no other grounds indeed can the bankruptcy—if such it must be called—of Antonio be reconciled with the fact of his absolute solvency. He was as wealthy at the time of his forfeiture and trial as he was either when he contracted the debt, or as afterwards, when he learns at Belmont that his

'Argosies
Are richly come to harbour suddenly.'—Act V. sc. i.

That is, before they were expected. And yet, supposing, as he did at first, that the bond had three months to run, they were expected 'within two months,' or, as he adds,—

This bond expires, I do expect return
Of thrice three times the value of this bond.'—Act I. sc. iii.

The argosies, then, did arrive, laden with treasures, a very long time, indeed, before a bond for three months could have run its course; how, then, could Antonio have forfeited the penalty, if the actual bond had the supposed time to run out? No; the fact is, Antonio was never really a bankrupt at all. He was, indeed, at the opening of the action, in want of ready money, just as he was when the payment of the bond was rigidly exacted on demand, or at sight; but on both occasions he had credit to any amount he might require. Shylock did not scruple to advance him three thousand ducats on his single security; and ere his trial he had at his command

. . . . 'six thousand ducats to deface the bond; Double six thousand, and then treble that.'—Act III. sc. ii.

How, then, is it possible that a bond, whose expiration must have been so long foreseen as the supposititious one at three months, and enforced by such a rigorous penalty, could have been suffered to expire by a man having such resources, such securities, such credit, and such friends, as Antonio had? Nothing but surprise, sudden, unexpected, and rigorously taken advantage of, could have reduced him to a state of forfeiture; and nothing could have reduced him to such a

surprise, except the fact that the bond to which he had set his seal was unconditionally payable on demand or at sight. Shylock knew this well; he knew, from the transaction of the previous day, Antonio's want of 'money or comodity to raise a present sum'; and, payment not being forthcoming on the instant, he seized with rapacity the advantage which the law allowed him, and insisted on the penalty. This is the plain account of the matter. It reconciles the apparent with the real time of the drama; and it shall be presently made to appear why the poet resorted to this artifice for ostensibly protracting the duration of the action.

The interval during which the bond expires being thus limited to the corresponding interval between Bassanio's embarkation and his arrival at Belmont, namely, from nine o'clock in the afternoon of the first day, and eight o'clock in the forenoon of the following, we ascertain with precision the whole duration of the dramatic time of the action. Thus:

			mours.
For the first period			10
For the second period .			18
For the interval between both			11
Total duration .			39

It is not to be denied, however, that many scenes, incidents, and habitudes, in the progress of the play, suggest to the imagination of the spectator a greater extension of time than that which is really displayed to his senses. But these apparent retardations of the action are merely illusory, and are affected by contrivances which, on being examined, are found to be purely artificial, and perfectly reconcileable with that series of dates which give the true and visible time of the dramatic action. Amongst the more remarkable of those protractive contrivances is the supposititious period through which the bond has to run. We forget that there are two bonds spoken of, and that the one is surreptitiously substituted for the other; one bearing date at three months,—'three thousand ducats for three months,'—a phrase iterated and reiterated until it has taken entire possession of the imagination; and another to which no date whatever is assigned beyond the vague suggestion of 'such a day.' The substitution of one for the other

takes place in 'a merry sport,' which makes the chief party concerned, and consequently the spectators, indifferent and inattentive to this part of the transaction; and we hear no more of either bond until the forfeiture. It is plain that in this case the poet—for his purpose—has taken advantage of the first impression on the mind of the spectator; and that the spectator, unconscious of the trick, remains under the delusion, until his reason compels him to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between the supposititious period of the bond and its actual expiration.

Another of those protractive expedients occurs in the several scenes at Belmont, interposed between parts of the main action previous to Bassanio's successful venture on the caskets. To those scenes there are two considerations which give an air of considerable lapses of time, viz., first, the vague idea of the distance between Belmont and Venice, suggested by the necessity of a sea voyage, ere yet we have learned the real distance between the places, and from this we catch the notion of a corresponding remoteness of time; and secondly, the number of suitors whom Portia has to be freed from ere the good fortune of Bassanio can come to its trial. But those difficulties vanish on examination, and it becomes evident that those scenes occupy no more time than the intervals between the parts of the main action carried on by Bassanio and his friends. As soon, for instance, as we know that Belmont is but ten miles distant from Venice, the imaginary remoteness of time as well as place vanishes; we can easily discern how the second scene of the first Act,—that between Portia and Nerissa, discussing the merits of the several suitors—occupies the interval only between the first and the third scene of the same Act, namely, the time employed by Bassanio in discovering a money lender. Then for the disposal of Portia's suitors. It is true she has many to be freed from. There is the Neapolitan Prince; the county Palatine; the French Lord, Mons. Le Bon; Faulconbridge, the young Baron of England; the Scottish Lord, his neighbour; the young German, the Duke of Saxony's brother; the Prince of Morocco; and the Prince of Arragon. But 'they come like shadows, so depart'; 'While we shut the gate upon one woer,' says Portia, 'another knocks at the door' (Act I. sc. ii). Unwilling to risk the conditions,

six of them have already determined to 'return to their homes and to trouble the lady no more with their suit' (*Ibid.*). Of the two who remain to try their fortune, the Prince of Morocco, who arrives at Belmont some hours before Bassanio, leaves Venice on the first day of the action, makes no longer delay than to dine with the lady, repairs to the temple to be sworn to the conditions, to make an unhappy choice among the caskets, and to be forthwith despatched:

'Cold, indeed; and labour lost:
Then, farewell heat; and welcome frost.
Portia, adieu! I have too grieved a heart
To take a tedious leave.'—Act II. sc. vii.

And finally, the Prince of Arragon's dismissal takes place in Act II. sc. ix., and at some hour between the embarkation of Bassanio at Venice and his arrival at Belmont, apparently a short time only before the latter event. The whole adventure is rapidly transacted:

'NERISSA. Quick, quick, I pray thee, draw the curtain straight; The Prince of Arragon hath ta'en his oath, And comes to his election presently.

(Enter Arragon, his train; Portia, with her's, &c.)'

He proceeds forthwith to 'unlock his fortunes,' loses the prize, and bids adieu; and ere Portia has left the scene the arrival of Bassanio is announced. It is certain, therefore, that, whatever air of protraction the bustle and variety of those scenes may give, they all, in reality, take place in the corresponding intervals between parts of the main action, without in the slightest degree really retarding its progress.

Another of those delusive expedients will be found in the scene (Act III. sc. i.) between Shylock and Tubal. If we take this scene an pied de la lettre, we shall imagine that Tubal has been to Genoa and back again, between the elopement of Jessica and this interview with her father.

'SHYLOCK. How now, Tubal, what news from Genoa? hast thou found my daughter?

Tubal. I often came where I did hear of her, but cannot find her.'

It is plain from this equivocal answer, and the various reports which follow, that, with the malice ascribed to him and all his race

in this play¹, Tubal is throughout playing on the irritated feelings and passions of his countryman. He has been in Genoa, indeed, and is just returned from it; but it does not appear that he went thither in quest of Shylock's daughter. Nor does Shylock's address to him, however carefully worded, necessarily imply any such purpose. It consists of two distinct questions; the first touching his mission to Genoa, which was probably mercantile,—'What news from Genoa?' —the second touching that which was uppermost in the speaker's mind, the flight of his daughter with his ducats,—'Hast thou found my daughter?' as much as to say, 'Perhaps you don't come to speak to me, in my present troubles, about business; but you may have heard something of my daughter, and are come to impart it.' Tubal's answer is indirect: he says nothing of Genoa, but admits that he had often come where he heard of Jessica (perhaps in Venice since his return), but without being able to find her; and he continues throughout the succeeding dialogue to rub and irritate the two-fold passion under which the mind of his friend was labouring; now tickling him with the misfortunes of Antonio, and now goading him with the extravagance of his daughter. In pursuance of this good-natured project, he designedly confounds the two topics of Shylock's inquiry, and, when pressed upon one point, dexterously rides off upon the other. Thus, in the following masterly passage, when Shylock, dwelling upon his danghter's ill-conduct, complains that 'there is no illluck stirring, but what lights on his shoulders; no sighs, but of his breathing; no tears, but of his shedding,' Tubal observes:

'Yes, other men have ill-luck too. Antonio, as I heard in Genoa,—

SHYLOCK. What, what, what? ill luck, ill luck?
TUBAL.,—hath an argosy cast away, coming from Tripolis.
SHYLOCK. I thank God, I thank God:—Is it true? is it true?
TUBAL. I spoke with some of the sailors that escaped the wreck.
SHYLOCK. I thank thee, good Tubal: good news, good news: ha!
ha!—where? in Genoa?

Tubal. Your daughter spent in Genoa, as I heard, one night, fourscore ducats!

¹ See in the preceding speech of Salarino—("Enter Tubal). Here comes another of the tribe; a third cannot be matched, unless the devil himself turn Jew."

SHYLOCK. Thou stick'st a dagger in me:—I shall never see my gold again: Four score ducats at a sitting! fourscore ducats!

Tubal. There came divers of Antonio's creditors in my company

to Venice, that swear he cannot choose but break.

SHYLOCK. I'm glad of it; I'll plague him; I'll torture him: I'm glad of it.

Tubal. One of them showed me a ring, that he had of your

daughter for a monkey.

SHYLOCK. Out upon her! Thou torturest me, Tubal: it was my turquoise;

TUBAL. But Antonio is certainly undone.

SHYLOCK. Nay, that's true, that's very true: Go, Tubal, fee me an officer, bespeak him a fortnight before. I will have the heart of him,

From all this we perceive, as clearly as we see the malice and revengefulness of Shylock, the extreme maliciousness and cruelty of Tubal's disposition, and may fairly infer that, to indulge his humour at his friend's expense, he would not scruple to strain a point. He is a manifest liar. He reports the loss of one of Antonio's argosies, and confirms his statement by averring that he had it from 'some sailors that escaped the wreck.' Good evidence this, and out of the mouths of many witnesses. But we know (at the last) that Antonio has sustained no loss at all,—no wreck,—and that Tubal's story is a falsehood invented for the nonce. 'Sweet lady,' quoth Antonio to Portia,—

'Sweet lady, you have given me life, and living; For here I read for certain, that my ships Are safely come to road.'—Act V. sc. last.

Again, if by his speech, as given in all the editions, Tubal means to say that Jessica had 'spent in Genoa, as he heard, one night, four-score ducats,' we know also that he must be a liar; for Jessica was not at Genoa at all. In fact she had not reached many miles from Venice, when, between that city and Belmont, she and her lover were overtaken by Salerio, who was hastening to acquaint Bassanio with the news of Antonio's misfortunes, and persuaded to accompany him thither; thus:

'LORENZO. . . . For my part, my lord, My purpose was not to have seen you here; But meeting with Salerio by the way, He did entreat me, past all saying nay,
To come with him along.
SALERIO.

I did, my lord,
And I have reason for it.

The fugitives therefore had not been to Genoa, and consequently they were either foully belied by Tubal; or his speech—which I rather suspect to be the case—is very grossly misprinted.

This speech is given, as quoted above, in all the editions. A slight change, however,—not in the words nor even in the letters, but merely in the pointing,—would restore it to consistency with the real state of the facts, without at all abating of its malice. He has been just telling of what he heard in *Genoa*:

'Tubal. Antonio,—as I heard in Genoa,—hath an argosy cast away.

I spoke with some of the sailors that escaped the wreck.

ŚHYLOCK. I thank thee, good Tubal: good news, good news: ha!—where?—in Genoa?'

That is to say, 'Where did you hear this good news?—was it in Genoa?' Tubal, however, is too intent on his malicious purpose to give a direct reply, but, bursting into a scandalous tale of his friend's daughter, interpolates, by parenthesis, his answer to the Jew's question. The passage should probably be printed thus:

'SHYLOCK. Where ?—in Genoa ?
Tubal. Your daughter spent—(in Genoa),—as I heard, one night, fourscore ducats.'

Such interruptions and suspensions in the midst of a sentence,—in order to answer, ere one forgets, or is led away from the subject,—a question—are not unusual in conversation; the dialogue of Ben Jonson abounds with them, nor is that of Shakspere destitute of examples. They are very natural, and, if not distinctly marked by the due inflection of the voice, may mislead the hearers: still more likely would they be, if not with equal distinctness marked in the manuscript, to mislead the printers. I think this must have been the case in this instance, otherwise the anxious enquiry of the Jew respecting the whereabout of Tubal's well-attested narrative will remain without an answer, and his statement must be taken as a wilful un-

truth. There is nothing, therefore, in this scene which necessarily impedes the more rapid action which we have already traced; for I suppose that the greedy burst of malice with which Shylock instructs Tubal to 'bespeak him an officer a fortnight before,' will suggest nothing more than the extreme impatience of the cruel creditor to glut his revengeful animosity with the utmost certainty and with the shortest delay.

Another suspension of time seems to be suggested by a short speech of Jessica's, immediately after her arrival at Belmont, and while the party there are discussing the intelligence of Antonio's forfeiture. Salerio observes of Shylock, that

Of forfeiture, of justice, and his bond.'—Act III. sc. ii.

And Jessica subjoins:

'When I was with him I have heard him swear To Tubal, and to Chus, his countrymen, That he would rather have Antonio's flesh Than twenty times the value of the sum That he did owe him.'—Ibid.

This language at first sight seems to imply that Shylock was in the habit of expressing himself thus to his family and friends at home; and doubtless so he was. We know of his long-standing enmity against Antonio; but we must beware of thinking that those expressions had immediate reference to the transaction going on between them. That Jessica was speaking of her father's habit is clear from this, that since the day on which the bond was contracted she has never been at home, never been with him, so as to overhear any of his conversation with his countrymen on the subject. In fact she has had but a single interview with him between the sealing of the bond and her own elopement; and, having ourselves been ear and eve witnesses to that interview, we know that no such conversation took place between her father and his countrymen on that occasion. We must, therefore, understand her as speaking of conversations and transactions prior to the bond, and her speech to be nothing more than evidence of the general and habitual hatred of the Christian merchant which her father was wont to express, 'while she was with him,' i. e.

before she eloped, or the bond existed. Nor is her expression of 'twenty times the sum,' &c., to be taken for more than a common mode of indicating an indefinite amount. The whole passage, therefore, presents no obstacles to the rapid current of action whose real progress we have already ascertained.

There remains but one more note of retardation to be considered, and it is easily disposed of. Shortly after his arrest, Antonio, weighed down with his calamities, observes:

'These griefs and losses have so 'bated me, That I shall hardly spare a pound of flesh To-morrow to my bloody creditor.'—Act III. sc. ii.

By this expression it would, at first sight, appear that the forfeiture, the arrest, the trial, and the execution of sentence, did not, or were not intended to succeed in such rapid succession as we have already assigned. But this is the miscalculation of the merchant, not of the poet. Antonio may have expected that he would not have been brought to trial until 'to-morrow'; or he may have hoped that the execution would have been held over till the 'morrow': and the passage shows nothing more than the natural tenacity with which a man clings to the slenderest hope of a prolonged existence.

It is not to be doubted, however, that, for reasons to be now developed, it was the poet's intention that those procrastinating scenes and sentences should give to his action the appearance of occupying a longer extension of time than that in which it is dramatically transacted. He knew that the drama, being an imitation, a similitude of nature, is not nature itself, but a copy, whose excellence depends on the amount of illusion with which the poet can invest it. He knew, therefore, that dramatic time is not natural time; that the former consists not of the arbitrary segment assigned it by the laws of the Greek or the French schools,—whether that be co-equal with the performance on the stage, or with a period of twelve hours, or with a single revolution of the sun,—but of that period during which the spectator may be supposed capable of watching, without any interruption, or interval of sleep, the progress of an action sufficiently interesting to keep his attention alive and fixed."

APPENDIX II.

DR FORMAN'S BOOK OF PLAYS,

OR

NOTES IN 1611

ON

SHAKSPERE'S RICHARD II, WINTER'S TALE, CYMBELINE,
AND MACBETH,

From the Writer's own Manuscript, Ashmole 208, Article X.

WITH THE LORD TREASURER'S PAYMENTS FOR THE ACTING OF 6 OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS IN 1613. I have so often wanted a trustworthy print of the Notes of the old astrological quack Doctor on the four Shakspere plays that he saw in the few months before his death, that I take the present opportunity of putting them in type. Mr Thompson Cooper's excellent *Biographical Dictionary* (G. Bell, 1873) says of Forman:—

"Forman, Simon, a noted astrologer, born near Wilton, Wiltshire, 30 Dec. 1552. After receiving a very irregular education, he studied for a time in the free school adjoining Magdalen College, Oxford, and eventually settled in London, where he practised as an empiric, astrologer, and fortune-teller, being much patronised by the credulous. He was greatly harassed by the College of Physicians, until he managed to get a regular license to practise physic from the university of Cambridge. Died Sept. 1611. His only published work is 'The Grounds of the Longitude,' 1591; but he left a mass of MSS., most of which are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Athen. Cantab. vol. iii."

I add the two entries from the Accounts of Lord Stanhope, James I.'s Treasurer of the Chamber, Michaelmas 1612—1613, in the Rawlinson MS. A. 239 (in the Bodleian) as to the performance of six of Shakspere's Plays in 1613.—F. J. F.

² See the late Mr Black's admirable Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS.

APPENDIX II.

DR FORMAN'S BOOK OF PLAYS.

[Ashm. MS. 208, art. X, leaf 200. Bodleian Library. (Not forged.)]

The Booke of Plaies and Notes therof per formans for Common Pollicie.

In Richard the 2 At the glob 1611 the 30 of Aprill.

Remember therin howe Iack straw by his overmoch boldnes, not beinge pollitick nor suspecting Anye thinge, was Soddenly at Smithfeld Bars stabbed by Walworth the major of London, & soe he and his wholle Army was overthrowen. Therfore in such a case or the like, never admit any party, with-out a bar betwen, for A man cannot be so wise, nor kepe him selfe to safe.

Also remember howe the duke of gloster, The Erell of Arundell, oxford and others, crossing the kinge in his humor, about the duke of Erland and Bushy, wer glad to fly and Raise an hoste of men, and beinge in his Castell, howe the d. of Erland cam by nighte to betray him with 300 men, but havinge pryuie warninge ther-of kept his gates faste, And wold not suffer the Enimie to Enter / which went back Again with a flie in his eare, and after was slainte by the Errell of Arundell in the battell.

Remember also, when the duke and Arundell cam to London with their Army, king Richard came forth to them and met them and gaue them fair wordes, and promised them pardon and that all should be well yf they wold discharge their Army, vpon whose promises and faier Speaches they did yt, and After the king byd them all to a banket and soe betraid them and Cut of their heades, &c, because they had not his pardon vnder his hand & sealle before but his worde.

¹ Remember therin Also howe the ducke of Lankaster pryuily contryued all villany, to set them all together by the ears, and to make the nobilyty to Envy the kinge and mislyke of him and his gouernmente, by which meanes he made his own sonn king, which was henry Bullinbrocke.

Remember also howe the duke of Lankaster asked A wise man, wher him self should ever be kinge, And he told him no, but his sonn should be a kinge. And when he had told him / he hanged him vp for his labor, because he should not brute yt abrod or speke ther-of to others. This was a pollicie in the common-wealthes opinion.² But I sai yt was a villaines parte, and a Iudas kisse to hange the man for telling him the truth. Beware by this Example of noble men / and of their fair wordes, & sai lyttell to them, lest they doe the like by thee for thy good will./

In the Winters Talle at the glob, 1611, the 15 of maye.

Observe ther howe Lyontes the kinge of Cicillia was overcom with Ielosy of his wife, with the kinge of Bohemia, his frind, that came to see him, and howe he contriued his death, and wold have had his cup-berer to have poisoned, who gave the king of bohemia warning ther-of, & fled with him to bohemia / Remember also howe he sent to the Orakell of appollo, & the Aunswer of apollo that she was giltles, and that the king was Ielouse, &c, and howe Except the child was found Again that was loste, the kinge should die with-out yssue, for the child was caried into bohemia, & ther laid in a forrest & brought vp by a sheppard. ³And the kinge of bohemia his sonn maried that wentch, & howe they fled in Cicillia to Leontes, and the sheppard having showed the letter of the nobleman by whom Leontes sent a was that child, and the Iewelles found about her. she was knowen to be leontes daughter, and was then 16 yers old.

Remember also the Rog. that cam in all tottered like coll pixei / and howe he feyned him sicke & to have bin Robbed of all that he had, and howe he cosoned the por man of all his money, and after cam to the shop sher ⁵ with a pedlers packe, & ther cosoned them Again ¹ leaf 201, back. ² MS. opiniron. ³ leaf 202. ⁴ so in the MS. ⁵ sheepshearing.

of all ther money. And howe he changed apparrell with the kinge of bomia his sonn, and then howe he turned Courtiar, &c / beware of trustinge feined beggars or fawninge fellouse.

¹ of Cimbalin king of England.

Remember also the storri of Cymbalin king of England, in Lucius tyme, howe Lucius Cam from Octauus Cesar for Tribut, and being denied, after sent Lucius with a greate Arme of Souldiars who landed at milford hauen, and Affter wer vanquished by Cimbalin, and Lucius taken prisoner, and all by means of 3 outlawes, of the which 2 of them were the sonns of Cimbalim, stolen from him when they were but 2 yers old by an old man whom Cymbalin banished, and he kept them as his own sonns 20 yers with him in A cave. And howe [one] of them slewe Clotan, that was the quens sonn, goinge To milford hauen to sek the loue of Innogen the kinges daughter, whom he had banished also for louinge his daughter, and howe the Italian that cam from her loue conveied him selfe into A Cheste, and said yt was a chest of plate sent from her loue & others, to be presented to the kinge. And in the depest of the night, she being aslepe, he opened the cheste, & cam forth of yt, And vewed her in her bed, and the markes of her body, & toke a-wai her braslet, & after Accused her of adultery to her loue, &c. And in thend howe he came with the Romains into England & was taken prisoner, and after Reueled to Innogen, who had turned her self into mans apparrell & fled to mete her loue at milford hauen, & chanchsed to fall on the Caue in the wodes wher her 2 brothers were, & howe by eating a sleping Dram they thought she had bin deed, & laid her in the wodes, & the body of cloten by her in her loues apparrell that he left behind him, & howe she was found by lucius, &c.

² In Mackbeth at the glob, 3 16j0, the 20 of Aprill, ther was to be observed, firste, howe Mackbeth and Bancko, 2 noble men of Scotland, Ridinge thorowe a wod, the [r] stode before them 3 women feiries or Nimphes 4, And saluted Mackbeth, sayinge, 3 tyms vnto him, haille mackbeth, king of Codon; for thou shalt be a kinge, but shalt beget

leaf 206.
 leaf 207.
 MS. glod.
 the im has 5 strokes.
 N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1876.
 27

No kinge, &c. then said Bancko, what all to mackbeth And nothing to me. Yes, said the nimphes1, haille to thee Banko, thou shalt beget kinges, yet be no kinge. And so they departed & cam to the courte of Scotland to Dunkin king of Scotes, and yt was in the dais of Edward the Confessor. And Dunkin bad them both kindly wellcome. And made Mackbeth forth with Prince of Northumberland, and sent him hom to his own castell, and appointed mackbeth to prouid for him, for he wold Sup with him the next dai at night, & did soe. And mackebeth contrived to kull Dunkin2, & thorowe the persuasion of his wife did that night Murder the kinge in his own Castell, beinge his gueste. And ther were many prodigies seen that night & the dai before. And when MackBeth had murdred the kinge, the blod on his handes could not be washed of by any means, nor from his wives handes, which handled the bloddi daggers in hiding them, By which means they became both moch amazed & affronted. the murder being knowen, Dunkins 2 sonns fled, the on to England, the [other to] ³ Walles, to saue them selues. They beinge fled, they were supposed guilty of the murder of their father, which was nothinge so. was Mackbeth crowned kinge, and then he for feare of Banko, his old companion, that he should beget kinges but be no kinge him selfe, he contriued the death of Banko, and caused him to be Murdred on the way as he Rode. The next night, beinge at supper with his noble men whom he had bid to a feaste to the which also Banco 4 should have com, he began to speake of Noble Banco, and to wish that he wer ther. And as he thus did, standing vp to drincke a Carouse to him, the ghoste of Banco came and sate down in his cheier be-hind him. And he turninge A-bout to sit down Again sawe the goste of banco, which fronted him so, that he fell in-to a great passion of fear and fury, Vtteringe many 5 wordes about his murder, by which, when they hard that Banco was Murdred they Suspected Mackbet.

Then MackDove fled to England to the kinges sonn, And soe they Raised an Army, And cam into scotland, and at dunston Anyse overthrue Mackbet. In the mean 6 tyme whille macdouee was in Eng-

¹ the im has 5 strokes.

² MS. Dumkin.

³ leaf 207, back.

⁴ MS. Bamco.

⁵ MS. mamy.

⁶ MS. meam.

land, Mackbet slewe Mackdoues wife & children, and after in the battelle mackdoue slewe mackbet.

Observe Also howe mackbetes quen did Rise in the night in her slepe, & walke and talked and confessed all, & the docter noted ner wordes.

Extracts from Lord-Treasurer Stanhope's Accounts as to 6 of Shakspere's Plays acted in 1613.

[Rawl. MS. A. 239, leaf 47. (Not forged.)]

The Accompte of the right honourable the Lord Stanhope of Harrington, Treasurer of his Majesties Chamber, for all such Somes of money as hath beine receaved and paied by him within his Office from the feaste of St. Michaell Tharchangell, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Decimo (1612), vntill the feaste of St. Michaell, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi vndecimo (1613), conteyning one whole yeare.

Item paid to John Heminges vppon lyke warrant, dated att Whitehall ixo die Julij 1613 for himself and the rest of his fellowes his Majesties servauntes and Players for presentinge a playe before the Duke of Savoyes Embassadour on the viijth daye of June, 1613, called Cardenna, the some of vj li xiij s iiij d.

1 Item paid to John Heminges vppon the Cowncells warrant dated att Whitehall xxo die Maij 1613, for presentinge before the Princes Highnes the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Pallatyne Elector fower-teene severall playes, viz: one playe called ffilaster, One other called the Knott of ffooles, One other Much adoe aboute nothinge, The Mayeds Tragedy, The merye dyvell of Edmonton, The Tempest, A kinge and no kinge / The Twins Tragedie / The Winters Tale, Sir John ffalstaffe², The Moore of Venice, The Nobleman, Casars Tragedye³ / And one other called Love lyes a bleedinge, All which Playes weare played with-in the tyme of this Accompte, viz: paid the some of iiij x xiij li vjs viij & [£93: 6: 8] /

Item paid to the said John Heminges vppon the lyke warrant, dated att Whitehall xx° die Maij 1613, for presentinge sixe severall

leaf 47, back.

Henry IV, or Merry Wives. See The Hotspur in the next entry.

Julius Cæsar.

playes, viz: one playe called a badd beginninge (sic) makes a good endinge, One other called the Capteyne, One other the Alcumist. / One other Cardenno / One other The Hotspur¹ / And one other called Benedicte and Betteris², All played within the tyme of this Accompte Yet Cowncells viz: paid ffortie powndes, And by waye of his Majesties rewarde twentie powndes, In all lx li.

^{&#}x27;all-to': adv. Pericles, III. ii. 17 (the to is in fact the intensive prefix of the verb following). "Verberibus cæsum te in pistrinum, dedam vsque ad necem. I will all to currie thee, or bethwacke thy coate, and then put thee in bridwell, to drawe at the mill so long as thou liuest."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 17, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598). "Crotté en Archediacre. Dagged vp to the hard heeles, extreamly bedurtied, all to be-dabled; (Belike when this phrase came first in vse, Archdeacons trudged vp and downe on foot)."—1611; Cotgrave.

^{&#}x27;Avaunt'! Errors, IV. iii. 80, &c. &c. "Devant. (Interject.) Vsed, as our avaunt, in the driving away of a dog."—Cotgrave.

^{&#}x27;baggage': sb., Rom. & Jul., III. v. 157. "Bagasse: f. A Baggage, Queane, Iyll, Punke, Flirt."—1611; Cotgrave.

^{&#}x27;bless': 'God bless you!' Merry Wives, II. ii. 160. "Dien vous y aide. (To one that sneezeth) God blesse you."—1611; Cotgrave.

^{&#}x27;bottle of hay': Mids. N. Dr., IV. i. 37. Manipola, a handfull, a gripe, a bundle, a bottell. "Manipolo, Manipulo, a handfull, a bottle of haie, a wad of straw, a gripe, a bundle."—1598; Florio. Mazzo, a heape, a masse, a lump, a bundle, a sheefe, a bottle or wad of straw.—1598; Florio.

^{&#}x27;bouncing': adj. Midsr. N. Dr., II. i. 70. "In very truth there is a iolly bouncing boy borne unto Pamphilus: now I pray God send him long to liue, because he hath so honest a man to his father."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 51, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

^{&#}x27;brabble': Tw. Night, V. 68, &c. "and now, for me a stranger, to goe follow sutes & brabbles in law: how easie and profitable a matter were that for me to doe here, euen the examples of other doe foreshew mee."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 85, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

APPENDIX III.

ON THE CONFUSION OF TIME IN THE MERRY WIVES.

BY R. GRANT WHITE, ESQ.

(Reprinted from his Shakespeare, ii. 200-2.)

... in the perfected play, and also in the early Quarto, Page asks the whole party that comes in after the search for Falstaff, who has been carried out in the buck-basket, to go a birding with him "tomorrow." Now although that invitation was given at dinner-time (about eleven o'clock in Shakespeare's time, as this very comedy shows us) on the day of Falstaff's first visit to Mrs Ford, we shall see that, in both Quarto and Folio, he makes his second visit to Mrs Ford on the same day, and yet that Ford, having accepted Page's invitation, diverts his friends from their sport to interrupt Falstaff's interview with his wife, which, according to the Folio, took place between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. Shakespeare is sometimes forgetful of the limits of time; but he never openly disregards them, even when they are without importance as conditions of the plot. In this case, however, the very action of the play hinged upon punctuality; and in the perfected play, he skilfully concealed an error, to eradicate which would have cost more labor than he cared to bestow. the Quarto we see Falstaff come puffing in from his involuntary bath immediately after the conversation at Ford's which follows the unsuccessful search,—and this is the natural succession of events. Now it is remarkable that it is in this very Scene (III. v.), in both Quarto and Folio, that Mrs Quickly enters with the appointment for the second interview with Mrs Ford, and also that it is from the interview in this very Scene with Master Brook, who treads on Mrs Quickly's

heels1, that, both in Quarto and Folio, Falstaff hastens to keep that appointment, lest he should be too late. In both Quarto and Folio. too, Ford follows Falstaff immediately, and meeting his men with the buck-basket at the door, stays them, assuring his friends that somebody was carried out in it "yesterday." But in the Folio the interview between Fenton and Anne Page, upon which Shallow and Slender, and, finally, Page and his wife, intrude, is made to precede Falstaff's second interviews with Master Brook and Mrs Quickly, instead of following them, as in the Quarto, -thus serving the double purpose of prolonging the apparent time, and of obscuring the memory of the former events by the intrusion of a new interest, and so at once promoting a desirable forgetfulness and affording relief to Falstaff's More than this:—in the Folio we have the Scene of the Pedagogue introduced for the purpose of farther separating the Scene in which Falstaff receives his second invitation from the entertainment to which he is invited. Dr Johnson thought this not only "a very trifling Scene," but "of no use to the plot." It is not surprising that he failed to appreciate its characteristic humor; but before he condemned it as valueless, should he not have examined a little more closely into the need of it?

The result of these two manœuvres is, that in the perfected play the important incongruity ceases to be palpable. The intention of the author is still farther apparent in a change of the day named by Mrs Quickly for the second meeting, and of two hours in the time appointed. In the Quarto, where the Scene of the buck-basket is followed immediately by that in which the second invitation is given, it is for "to-morrow between ten and eleven"; but in the Folio, where those Scenes are widely separated, it is for "this morning" and "between eight and nine"; and yet, in both Quarto and Folio, Mrs Quickly's second visit is made on the same day—that of the buck-basket;—for Falstaff of course got home from Dachet Mead as fast as his fat legs would carry him, and he hardly gets his breath before Mrs Quickly enters. In the Quarto, also, Page asks the disappointed Ford and his friends "to dinner" on the next day, adding "in the

¹ The "night" (II. ii. 296) on which Brook was to come to Falstaff cannot be got into Act III. sc. v. even by supposing that Falstaff sat up all night.—F.

morning we'll a birding"; but in the Folio he invites them "to breakfast" and says "after we'll a birding." Though this confusion was important enough to Shakespeare the playwright thus to conceal it, how insignificant the error is to us in comparison with its value as furnishing evidence of the haste with which the play was written, and of the labor bestowed upon it to bring it to its present state, and as adding strong confirmation to the testimony of tradition that The Merry Wives of Windsor is Queen Elizabeth's comedy.

'brag': vb. (& brag, adj. proud; jay, sb.) Venus, 113, &c. "Ornatu alterius induitur. He hath gotten on him an other mans cloaths. The iangling Gay is bragge of the peacock's feathers. For we may vse this as a proverbe, against such as bragge of that which is none of their owne."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 109, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'by': (as in 'by-paths,' 2 Hen. IV., IV. v. 185). "And now they faine betwixt themselves an odde by peece of craft, that this Glycerie is a freeborne woman of Athens."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 19, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'carbonado': sb. 1 Hen. IV., V. iii. 61. "Incarbonare, to broile vpon the coales, to make a carbonado. Incarbonata, a carbonado of broyled meate, a rasher on the coales."—1598; Florio.

'casual': Hamlet, V. ii. 393. "But hoe Syr, see to it.. if such a thing as this is, shall perchance befall to him at any time: as humane things are casuall. [Si quid huius simile, forte aliquando evenerit, Vt sunt humana.]"—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 226, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'changeling': Mids. N. Dr., IV. i. 64. "Puer supponitur. It's a changeling or counterfait child."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 112, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'coil': Tempest, I. ii. 207, &c. "Faire le diable de Vauvert.

To keepe an old coyle, horrible bustling, terrible swaggering: to play monstrous reakes, or raks-iakes."—Cotgrave, u. Diable.

'controlment': 'without controlment,' M. Ado, I. iii. 21 (Titus, II. i. 68). "Impune hoc facit, He doth this without controlment. Thers no fault found with him, or, he is not punished for this he doth."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 101, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'drown': Tempest, V. i. 207-8. "Qui a à pendre, n'a pas à noyer: Prov. Hee thats borne to be hanged, needs feare no drowning."—1611; Cotgrave.

- 'excellent': adj. excelling. "Mulier egregià formà & integrà ætáte. A woman of excellent beautie, and in her best life, or flowre of her age, nothing broken."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 12, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).
- 'familiarity': All's Well, V. ii. 3. "he, that vppon small acquaintance and familiaritie, takes this womans death so to heart, what if he had loued her himselfe?"—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 10, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598) (familiarly, p. 11).
- 'fleer at': Much Ado, V. i. 58. "shall we suffer him to get away so much money from vs, to fleere and geere at vs in every corner? I'll die first."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 449, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).
- 'fustian': adj. Tw. N., II. v. 119. "Monélle, a roguish or fustian word, a word in pedlers French, signifying wenches, strumpets or whores."—1598; Florio.
- 'galled': adj. Hamlet, III. ii. 253. "Pelato, puld, pluckt the feathers off, skalded or singed as a hog, vnskinned, puld off the haire or skinne, galled, pilled, pared, or prouled."—1598; Florio.
- 'hand': 'out of hand.' 3 Hen. VI., IV. vii. 63. "Stay a little if you will: the maidens brother will he here out of hand [he went to fetch the nurse]."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 174, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).
- 'hang': 'go hang yourselves.' Tw. N., Shrew. "Get thee away quickly, and goe hang thy selfe."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 24, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).
- 'have with you': 'I'll go with you.' My. Wives, II. i. 161, &c. &c. "In quovis tibi loco parâtus sum. I am readie for you in any place: put but vp the finger where you will, and haue with you."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 78, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).
- 'heels': 'take my heels.' Err., I. ii. 94. "Marrie, I would very gladly you had a sling, that you might from this place secretly hurle at them aloofe, till they 'take their heeles."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 167, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).
- 'hugger-mugger, in': Hamlet, IV. v. 84. "Sous la courtine. Secretly, closely, privately, vnderhand, in corners, in hugger-mugger."—1611; Cotgrave. (And see Wheatley's Dict. of Reduplicated Words, Philolog. Soc. Trans., 1865.)
- 'impasted': Hamlet, II. ii. 481. "Ital. Impastato, impasted or raied with dirte."—1548, ed. 1567. Wm Thomas. Italian Grammar.

. 1. 4. ...

EXEDXXIIIXXIIIXXI

AN AVNCIENT

Historie and exquisite Chronicle

of the Romanes warres, both
Ciuile and Foren.

Written in Greeke by the noble Orator and Hiftoriographer, Appian of Alexandria, one of the learned Counfell to the most mightie Emperoures, Traiane and Adriane.

In the which is declared:

Their greedy defire to conquere others.
Their mortall malice to deftroy themfelues.
Their feeking of matters to make warre atroade.
Their picking of quarels to fall out at home.
All the degrees of Sedition, and all the effects of Ambition.
A firme determination of Fate, thorowe all the changes of Fortune.

And finally, an euident demonstration, That peoples rule must giue place, and Princes power preuayle.

With a continuation bicause that parte of Appian is not extant, from the death of Sextus Pompeius, second sonne to Pompey the Great, till the ouerthrow of Antonie and Cleopatra, after the which time, Octanianus Caesar, had the Lordship of all, alone.

Βασιλίδι χράτιστη,² δεσπότιδι τ'

IMPRINTED AT LONDON

by Raufe Newbery, and Henrie Bynniman. Anno. 1578.



¹ continuation is continuation in original.
² τ_{η} in original.

APPENDIX IV.

APPIAN'S CIVIL WARS, 1578.

Extract from the Second Book, p. 152.

THE Counsell being thus broken vp, there were some that perswaded Lucius Piso, to whome Casar had left his Testamente, that it should neyther be brought forthe, nor his body buryed openly, least it mighte breede some newe tumult in the Citie. He being otherwise minded, was threatned to be called to aunswer, for that he defrauded the people of such substance due to the common treasure, once agayne making signification of Tyrannie. Then Piso cryed as lowde as he could, praying the Consuls that were yet present to goe to counsell againe, and sayde: They that have affirmed that one Tyrant is taken away, they in steede of that one be all Tyrants vnto vs, forbidding me to bury an holy Priest, and threaten me if I bring forth his last will. They make confiscation of his goodes, as of a Tirant. His actes that maketh for them they ratifie, but those that he hath left for himselfe they reuoke, not Brutus and Cussius, but they that did incense them to this mischiefe. Of his Sepulture be you Lordes, of his Testament I will be, and shall not suffer him to be deceyued in my trust of faith, before some man taketh away my breath.

Much stirre and businesse did rise of this among them all, and specially by them that supposed to get somewhat by his Testament: therefore it was thought convenient that his Testament should be brought abroade, and that his body shoulde be buryed openly, and so the Councell rose. Brutus and Cassius vnderstanding of this, did send to the multitude to call them to the Capitoll, and when many came running thither with greate hast, Brutus sayd thus:—"Nowe, O Citizens, we be heere with you that yesterday were in the common court, not as men fleeyng to the Temple that have done amisse, nor as to a fort, having committed all wee have to you, but the sharpe &

strange mishap of *Cinna* have compelled vs thus to do. We have herd what hath bin objected against vs of oure enimies touching the oth, and touching cause of doubt that in peace can be no suretie. What we have to say herein with you, O Citizens, we will conferre with whome we have to do concerning other common matters. When Caius Cæsar from France invaded his Country with enimies armes, and Pompey, a singulare favourer of the people, had suffered, as

¹ [p. 153] euery man¹ knoweth, after hym a number of good Citizens wente into Iberia & Libya & were destroyed. We at his desire gaue him security, and as it should seeme afrayde of himselfe, seking to make his Tyranny sure, we sware vnto it. If he had required vs to swere not only to confirme the things past, but also to have bene hys slaves in time to come, what woulde they then have done that nowe lie in wayte for our liues? I suppose verye Romaines indeede wyll rather choose certaine death, as they have oft done, than by an othe to abyde willing seruitude. If Cæsar hitherto haue gone aboute nothing to make vs seruile, we confesse we have broken our othe: but if neyther offices in the Citie, nor prouinces in the country, nor armies, nor dignities of the church, nor assigning of inhabitance, nor other honours be left to vs, or had the consent of the Senate, or the allowance of the people, but did all by his owne commaundement; if his ambition was never satiate, as Syllas was, who, when he had overthrown his enemies, restored to vs the common wealth; if he, making another armye for a long time, toke awaye our election for five yeares. what libertie was this, when no hope coulde appeare? What should we say of the peoples chiefe officers, Sesetius and Marullus; were they not with contumely thrust from the sacred & inuicate offices? and where the lawe and othe of our auncestours do not suffer any action to be made against the Tribunes, yet Cæsar banished them and shewed no cause: whither then have offended against the holy Tribunes, we, or Cæsar? being a sacred and inviolate man, to whom, not willingly, but of necessitie, we graunted these things, nor before he came agaynst his country in armour and had killed so many noble Citizens. The office of the Tribunes cannot be holy nor inviolated, to the whiche our fathers in time of common welth dyd sweare without compulsion, with intent to haue it euerlasting. The reuenewe and accompt of the Empire, where became it? who brake open the Treasure house against our wills? who caught the money vntouched and vnremouable? who thretned death to the Tribune that resisted him? but what oth (saye they) shall be sufficient to preserve peace? if

there be no Tyranne there needes no oth: our 1 forefathers neuer had neede of anye. But if any other wil aspire to tyrannie, there is no fayth, no not with an othe, between the Romaines and a Tiranne. Thus we speake now in perill, and will euer speake it for our country, for being in honoure and safety with Cæsar, we preferred the honour of our countrey before our owne. Wel they vse calumniation againste vs. and stirre you for the habitations. If here be any present, eyther that hath, or shalbe appointed to those inhabitance, I pray you do so much at my request as give a token of your selves." Many dyd so: then sayde he, "Oh, well done (good men) that you become to do as other do, and it is convenient that you which indifferentlye doe trauayle and laboure for youre countrey, shoulde receyue equal reward of the same. The people of Rome did appoint you to Casar againste the English and French men: it is therefore reason, that having done good service, you receyve as good rewards. But he bound you with oths and vnwillingly led you against the Citie: he led you likewise against the beste Citizens in Libya: likewise against your wils. If your trauayle had ben only in this, paraduenture you would have bin ashamed to aske recompence : but the service that you did in France and England, no enuie, no time, no obliuion of man, can put out of memorie: and for these, the beste recompence which the people was wont to give to the old souldiers, not taking away mens landes or houses that had not offended, nor giuing to one that was an others, nor thinking they ought to recompence with iniustice, nor when they had conquered their enimies, to take away all their land, but made a particion, and appointed some of their souldiers to dwel there as a garrison for the conquered places; and many times when the Land that was won wold not suffise, they eyther divided of the common, or bought more of newe: So did the people place you without any others displeasure. But Sylla and Cæsar, who inuaded their countrey as enimyes, having need of garde & garison vpon theyr countrey, dyd neyther send you to liue in any of your owne countryes, nor bought any land for you, nor bestowed that vpon you that they had got from other, nor vpon composition re-

[1 p. 155] stored the holnours on them from whome they were taken. althoughe they had the treasure and conquered lande, but toke from Italy, that had not offended nor done any thing amisse, by lawe of warre, or rather of robbery, lands, houses, Sepulchres, and Temples, which we would not take from our greatest strange enimyes, only setting a taxe of the tenth part vpon them: but they have made diuition to you of that which was your owne countreymens, and them that sente you to serue Cæsar in the Frenche wars, and made many vowes for your victories, and appointed you by companies to convenient dwelling places, with ensignes and discipline of souldiours: so as you can neyther enioue peace nor be sure of them that be thrust out, for who so euer is put out and spoyled of hys owne, he will remaine to spie a time for to be euen with you. This was the cause why the Tirannes would not let you have any land which mighte haue bene given you by other meanes, that, having ever enimies that laye in wayte, you shoulde be sure kepers of their power, whiche by iniustice did continewe yours. For the good will that Tirans haue of their garde is that they be as far in doing wrong and feare as themselues. And this they (O God) do cal a cohabitation, whereby lament of countreymen mighte be made, and insurrection of them that have done no wrong; & they for this purpose have made vs enimies to our own countreyfolke for their singular profit, & we, whom now the chiefe officers of the countrey do say they saue vs for mercies sake, do confirme presently, & herafter wil confirme the same to be bond to you for euer, of the which we take god to witnesse that ye have & shal have al you have had, & that none shall take it from you: not Brutus, not Cassius, not they that for your liberties haue put al their selues in peril; & we that be only accused in this matter will saue our selues, and be to you & to your allied friends a special comfort, and that that is most pleasant to you to heare. the first occasion that shal be offered we wil give you the price for the land that is taken from other of the common reuenew, that you shall not onely have your setting setled, but also voyde of all encombraunce."

Whiles Brutus thus spake, al the hearers, considering with themselues that he spake nothing but right, did like them wel, & as 1 men of courage and louers of the people, had them in great admiration, and were turned into their fauour, and determined to doe them good the next day, whiche being come, the Consuls called the people to an assembly, and repeated the opinions.

Cicero. This forgetfulnesse was called Anmestia, after the maner of the Grecians. Brutus and Cassius recon-siled with the Consulles.

Casars testa-

Octavius.

was the value

Decimus Brutus heyre to

Cæsar in remaynder.

of a grote.

Then Cicero did speake very much in the prayse of forgetting of iniuries, of the which they rejoiced, and called Brutus and Cassius from the Temple. They desired pledges, to whom Lepidus & Antonies sonnes were sente. When Brutus & Cassius were seene, there was such a noyse, as the Consuls, that would have sayde somwhat, could not be suffered, but wer first required to shake hands and be at one, which they dyd. And the Consuls mindes were troubled with feare or enuye, that these men and their friends should prevayle in that common cause. Then was Casar's testament with the writings for the disposition of his goods brought forth, which the people commaunded to be red. There was Octavius, his nephew by his sister's daughter, found to be his sonne by adoption. His gardings were given the people for solace, and to euerye Citizen of Rome that was present seauentie fine This dramme drammes of Athens. Now was the people streyght turned to anger, being abused by the name of a Tyranne, that in hys testament had shewed most loue to his country. And one thing seemed most to be pitied, that Decimus Brutus, one of the killers, was made his sonne among his second heyres: for the Romaines maner was, to their first heyres to adde the were much troubled, thinking it a wicked and abhominable act, that Decimus should conspire against Cæsar,

second, that if the first take not, the second may. With this they The people whome hee had made one of his children.

Piso brought forth Cæsar's body, to the which infinit numbers in armes ran to kepe it, & with much noyse & pompe brought it to the place of speech. There was much lamentation & weeping, ther was rushing of harnesse togither, with repentaunce of the forgetting of reuengeance. Antony, marking how they were affected, did not let it

slippe, but toke vpon him to make *Cœsars* funeral sermon, as Consul of a Consul, friend of a friend, & kinsman of a kinsman (for [2 p. 157] Antony was partly his kinsman), and to 1 vse craft againe. And thus he said:

Antony of Cusar. "I do not thinke it meete (O Citizens) that the buriall praise of suche a man should rather be done by me than by the whole country. For what you have altogither for the loue of hys vertue given him by decree, as well the Senate as the people, I thinke your voice, and not Antonies, oughte to expresse it."

This he vttered with sad and heavy cheare, and wyth a framed voice declared everything, chiefly vpon the decree, whereby he was made a God, holy & inviolate, father of the country, benefactor and governor, and suche a one as never in al things they entituded other man to the like. At every of these words Antonie directed his countenance & hands to Casar's body, and with vehemencie of words opened the fact. At every title he gave an addition, with briefe speach, mixte with pitie and indignation. And when the decree named him father of the Country, then he saide, "This is the testimony of our duety."

And at these wordes, holy, inviolate, and vntouched, and the refuge of all other, he said, "None other made refuge of hym. But he, this holy and vntouched, is kylled, not takyng honoure by violences whiche he never desired, and then be we very thrall that bestowe them on the vnworthy, neuer suing for them. But you doe purge your selues (O Citizens) of this vnkindnesse, in that you nowe do vse suche honoure towarde hym being dead."

Then rehearing the othe, that all shoulde keepe Cæsar and Cæsars body, and if any one wente about to betraye hym, that they were accursed that would not defende him; at this he extolled hys voice, and helde vp his handes to the Capitoll, saying,

"O Jupiter, Countries defendour, and you other Gods I am ready to reuenge, as I sware and made execration; and when it seemes good to my companions to allowe the decrees, I desire them to aide me." At these plaine speeches spoken agaynst the Senate, an vproare being made, Antony waxed colde, and recanted hys wordes. "It seemeth (O Citizens), saide hee, that the things done have not bin the

worke of men but of Gods, and that we ought to have more consideration of the present than of the past, bycause the things to come

[1 p. 158] maye bring vs to greater ¹ danger than these we haue, if we shall returne to oure olde, and waste the reste of the noble men that be in the Cittie. Therfore let vs send thys holy one to the number of the blessed, and sing to him his due hymne and mourning verse."

When he had saide thus, he pulled vp his gowne lyke gesture in the time of the funerall of Cresar.

When he had saide thus, he pulled vp his gowne lyke a man beside hymselfe, and gyrded it, that he might the better stirre his handes; he stoode ouer the litter as from a Tabernacle, looking into it, and opening it, and firste sang his Himne, as to a God in heauen. And to confirme he was a God, he held vp his hands, and, with a swift voice, he rehersed the warres, the fights, the victories, the nations that he had subdued to his countrey, and the great bookes that he had sent, making every one to be a maruell. Then with a continuall crie,

"This is the only vnconquered of all that euer came to hands with hym. Thou (quoth he) alone diddest reuenge thy countrey, being injured 300 years, & those fierce nations that onely inuaded Rome, & only burned it, thou broughtest them on their knees."

And when he had made these and many other inuocations he tourned hys voice from triumphe to mourning matter, and began to lament and mone him as a friend that had bin vniustly vsed, & did desire that he might giue hys soule for *Cæsars*. Then falling into moste vehement affections, vncouered *Cæsar's* body, holding vp his vesture with a speare, cut with the woundes, and redde with the bloude of the chiefe Ruler, by the which the people, lyke a Quire, did sing lamentation vnto him, and by this passion were againe repleate with ire. And after these speeches, other lamentations wyth voice, after the country custome, were sung of the Quires, and they rehearsed again his acts & his hap.

Then made he *Cæsar* hymselfe to speake as it were in a lamentable sort, to howe many of his enimies he hadde done good by name, & of the killers themselues, to say as in an admiration, "Did I saue them that haue killed me?" This the people could not abide, calling to remembraunce that all the kyllers (only *Decimus* except) were of

Pompey's faction, and subdued by hym; to whom, in stead of punishment, he had given promotion of offices, governments of provinces & armies, & thought Decimus worthy to be made his 1 heyre & son by adoption, and yet conspired hys death. While the matter was thus handled, and like to have come to a fray, one shewed out of the Litter the Image of Cæsar, made of waxe, for hys Cæsar's shape shewed in body it selfe, lying flat in the Litter, could not be seene. waxe. Hys picture was by a deuise turned about, & xxiij wounds wer shewed ouer al his body, & his face horrible to behold. seeing this pittifull picture, coulde beare the dolour no longer, but Change of thronged togyther, and beset the Senate house, wherein peoples mindes. Cæsar was kylled, and set it a fyre; and the kyllers, that The Senate house set a fledde for their lives, they ranne and sought in every fire wherein Cæsar was place, and that so outragiouslye, both in anger and dolour, killed. One Cynna one Cynna killed another, as they kylled Cynna the Tribune, being in name lyke to Cynna the Pretor that spake euill of Cæsar, and wold not tarry to heare the declaration of his name, but cruelly tore him a peeces, and lefte not one parte to be put in graue. They caried fire against other mens houses, who manlye defending themselues, Tumulte and rage of people. and the neighbours entreating them, they refrayned from fyre, but threatned to be in armes the next day. Wherefore the strikers hid themselues, and fled out of the Citie. The people returned to the litter, and caried it as an holye thing, to be buried in an holy place among the Gods, but bicause the Priests did deny it, they brought him againe into the common place, where the Pallaice of the old kings were, and there, with al the bourds & tymber which they could find in the place, which was muche, beside that euery man broughte of himselfe, with garlandes and other gifts of private persons, makyng a solemne shew, they burned the body, and Cosar's abode al night about the fyre. In the whiche place at funerall. the first was made an Altare, but nowe there is a temple of Casar, A Temple to where he is thought worthy divine honors. For his son by election, Octavius, taking the name of Casar, & disposing the state after his example, which then takyng the beginning, & he exceedingly advancing to the degree it is now, did thinke his father to deserue 2 buryed in original.

honors equall with the Gods, the which at this time, having their
The Romaines originall, the Romaines now vse to give the same to hym
that ruleth the estate, vnlesse he be a Tyranne or diffamed at his death, that in olde time could not suffer the
name of a kyng alyue.

¹Thus Casar was killed, on the day which they cal the [1 p. 160] Ides of Marche, whiche daye of the Moneth the Sooth-Idus in Marche. the 8 dayes sayer sayde hee shoulde not passe; at the whiche he in the following the first 7 daies. morning mocked him, saying, "the Ides be come!" to whome he aunswered boldlye againe, "but they be not yet gone." Thus hee, despising as well the foresayings of this eth the Soothconstant soothsayer, as all other tokens spoken of before, saiers. went abroad, & was killed the lvi yere of his age. A man most happy & fortunate in al his noble actions, & most like vnto Alexander A comparison the great—for they both were very ambitious and valiant, betwene Alexander and and swifte to execute their enterpryses, in perils moste bolde, of their bodies most carelesse, and did not more trust in soldiours service than in courage and fortune—of the which the one, in the heate of sommer, through places voide of water, went to Ammon, and Ammon, in the ranne ouer the gulfe of Pamphilia, of the crosse surgyng deserts of Sea, fortune staying the ragyng waves whiles he passed, Aegipt, where Jupiter gaue and sendyng hym rayne when he wente by lande, he oracles. assayde the Indian Sea that was not Nauigable. He was In India at the place the firste that scaled a town, and alone mounted the called Mauri. Pamphilia in enemies wall, & alone receyued xiij woundes on his body; Asia the lesse. euer inuincible, and alwayes getting victory at the first or the second He subdued manye barbarous nations in Europe, and ouer-Battayle. Alexanders came the Grecians, a valiant people, and louing libertie, acts. and before him obeying none but Philip, & that a little whyle, for an honour to appeare in his feates of warre. Asia (as a man may say) he ranged all ouer, and, briefely for to tell his fortune and Empire, as much land as he saw he gotte. And conceyuing and determining a conquest of the rest in his mind, he was destroyed.

To Cosar the Ionian sea gaue place in the middest of winter, and shewed it selfe caulme to his nauigation. He also sayled the Bryt-Cosar's actes. taine Ocean, not attempted before, and, fallyng vpon the

rockes of Englande, he bad the shipmayster runne a shore and slitte their shippes. In an other sea, striuing with the streame alone in the night in a little boate, he badde the Mayster let the sayles go to the winde, and trust more in *Cæsar's* fortune than in the Sea.

['P. 161] Against his enimies alone he hath lepte many tymes, 'and all the reste haue bin afraide. He alone did fighte with the Frenche thirtie times, til he had subdued fourtie nations of them, whiche were so terrible to the Romaines, as olde and holy men by lawe were

Al ages and degrees must striue against the french. priuiledged from warre, except when the French enimie came, for then both horse and olde men muste go foorth. At Alexandria, being left alone to fight on the bridge,

and beset on every side, he threwe off his purple, and leapte into the sea, and being sought of hys ennimies, he dived in the bottome a greate while, and only sometime rose to take breath, til a friendly shippe came nighe hym, to whome he helde vp his hands, shewed himselfe, and was saued.

Falling into the ciuill wars, eyther for feare (as he did say) or for desire of rule, hee didde matche wyth the valiauntest Captaines in his tyme, in many and great battailes, not Barbarians onelye, but also Romaines, which in manhoode and fortune dydde excel, and ouercame casar had losse some them all, eyther at the firste or at the seconde battaile. Hys armye not being inuincible as Alexanders, for in France, Cotta, and Titurus hys lieutenants were euidently ouercome with a great losse, and in Spaine, Petreius and Afranius helde hym besieged. In Dyrrachio and Libya they fled fowly awaye, and in Spaine they were afraide of young Pompey. But Casar himselfe was euer voide of feare, and in the ende of euerye warre had the victorie.

Euphrates, a floud of Macedonia, running into the redde sea by Babylon.

The Romaine Empire, from the weaste to the floude Euphrates, by force or by fayre meanes he obtayned, muche surer and stronger than Sylla.

He shewed hymselfe to be a king in spight of them al, though he woulde not receive the name. And he also, having made determination of other warre, was taken away. Besyde forth, their armies were alike: prompte to them bothe with a beneuolente minde; and in sighte, of lyke fiercenesse; disobedient many times to them both, and ful of sedition for their long laboures. Neuerthelesse, when they were deade, bothe after one sorte did lament and mone, and thought them worthy diuine honors. They were both in body of good com-

[1p. 162] plexion and fayre: bothe of them hadde 1 their petigree Cresar and Alexander from Aeacide and Hercules, and Alexander from Aeacide and Hercules, and Cresar from Anchises and Venus. As both were desirous to conquere with whome they contended, so easy to be entreated and to forgine them whom they had subdued, and, beside forginenesse, woulde do them good also, seeking nothing else but victory.

Thus farre they were alvke, but in rising to their rule they were not of lyke power: for the one rose from a Kingdome Cæsar vnlyke. encreased by hys father Phillip, the other from a private estate, yet noble and renoumed, and very needy of mony. Of tokens, whiche to them both were great, they were alyke contemners, yet neyther of them angree with the Diuiners that didde foreshewe their death. The tokens were like many times to them both, & to Twice to them bothe were valuekye signes, in the whiche like effect. the first shewed to them both doubtfull danger. Alex-These people be of India, and called Malli of Pluander, among the Oxidianes, scaling the wall before the Macedonians, being vtterly destitute by breaking of the tarcch. ladders, leapte boldly among hys enimies within, where he was sore hurt in the breast & in the necke, and beaten down with Perill of Alexander. a mighty mace, so as he was hardely saued by the Macedonians, that for very shame burste open the gates. Casar, in Spaine, when his army was very feareful of Pompey the young, and refused to go to the fight, ran betweene them both and receyued ijC dartes vpon his Target, his armye ran in for feare and shame and saued hym. So the first valucky sacrifices didde signific perill of death to them both, and the seconde, death it selfe indeede.

Pythagoras, a Soothsayer, tolde Apollodorus, that was afraide of Alexander & Ephestion, that he shoulde not neede to feare, for by the sacrifice he found that both of them shoulde shortely bee dead. And comming to passe, that Ephestion died by and by after, Apollodorus was afraide that some treason had bin wroughte againste the king, and tolde hym what the Soothsaier had sayde; he smiled, and asked of Pythagorus what the token did pretende; he aunswered,

"the laste day," whereat he smyled agayne, and thanked Apollodorus of hys faithfulnesse, and the Soothsayer of his confidence. To [1 p. 163] Casar (as we have sayde) the laste tyme that hee lwente into the Senate the same tokens happened. Whereat he laughed and saide, The like was seene in Spaine; and when the Divinour aunswered, that then he was in daunger, but nowe the token significath more certaine death; then relenting somewhat to this free speeche, he sacrificed againe, till he tarryed so long aboute the sacrifices that he was angry, and went in and was kylled.

The like happened to Alexander when he came from India to Babylon with his armye, where being nigh the Chaldeans exhorted hym to refraine at this presente, to whome hee rehearsed a verse:

"The best Prophet is he that coniectureth honestly."

Then the Chaldeans warned hym the second tyme not to go wyth his army on the weast side, but to compasse & take the City on the Alexander con- Easte, and stay there; with that (they say) he was contemneth tent, and beganne to go about, but being angry at the tokens. moory and fenny way he contemned the seconde warning, and went in at the Weaste. Then he sayled vpon Euphrates to the Euphrates & Pallacotta floud Pallacotta that receyueth Euphrates, and runneth floudes. into the Fennes, whereby Assyria is kept from overflowing. minded to have defended thys floud with a wall, and whiles he was. sayling vpon it they say he scorned the Chaldeans bycause he safely had entred Babylon, and was come forth againe to saile, but it was but deferred till he came againe, for then he dyed out of hande.

The lyke contempt Casar seemed to vse, for the tokens. Soothsayers hadde appoynted the daye of hys death, and saide hee shoulde not passe the Ides of March: & when that day was come he laughed at hym, and sayd, the Ides were come, but that very day he was kylled. Both they despised the Prophesies alyke, but were not angry with the Prophets, yet they both dyed, as they were tolde. They were both studious of learning and vertue, as wel of their own country as of Greek & other strangers. Alexander de-

Brachmanes wer the wise Philosophers among the Persians. Caesar dealte with the Aegip

chosen to it by tians when he put Cleopatra in hys kingdome, wherby he directed many civil things in Rome; & among other, he turned the order of the yeare, being without certaintie bycause of the odde moneths (for they measured it by the Moone), to the course of the Sunne, as the Aegiptians doe. It was hys happe that none dydde escape that soughte hys death, but by his heyre receyved worthye punishemente, as Alexander dydde them that kylled Phillippe, hys father. Howe that was done the bookes in order shall declare.

The end of the second booke of Civill dissentions.

[p. 165] The thirde Booke of Civill Dissention.

Hus C. Cæsar, that was most worthy of rule among the Romaines, was slayn of his enimies, & buried of the people. Of al his killers punishment, & how the best of them soonest receyued it, this Booke & the next shal declare, & likewise comprehende al the other Ciuill strifes that the Romaines had among themselues.

^{&#}x27;in grain': Errors, III. ii. 108; and 'Vice.' "Budin enfurine: and Badin sans farine. A notable coxcombe, an Asse in graine; also, a foole, or Vice in a play."—1611; Cotgrave. "Budiner. To play the foole, or Vice; to vse apish trickes and toyes; to tumble or iuggle; to trifle it in any way."—ib.

^{&#}x27;intercessor': Merch. of Ven., III. iii. 16. "none appeacheth thee, Syrus; neither needes thou take sanctuarie for the matter, nor prouide a spokesman and an intercessour."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 257, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

^{&#}x27;jar': 'at jar,' 2 Hen. VI, I. i. 253; IV. viii. 43. "How came you to know that they be at iarre between themselves?"—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 57, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

kickshaws': Tw. Ni., I. iii. 122. "Manicaretti, minced small meates, daintie quelquechoses, fine sauces."—1598; Florio.

^{&#}x27;linger': v. tr. Midsr. N's Dr., I. i. 4. "Protrahit labori dies. He prolongs and lingers the time. He makes no haste of his work."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 32, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

APPENDIX V.

CONTENTS OF THE GERMAN SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S YEAR BOOK, OL. X.

BY F. D. MATTHEW.

The German Shakespeare Society's Year Book opens with Herr Julius Thümmel's address, delivered at the annual meeting at Weimar in April, 1874, on Shakspere's children. Of these he counts sixteen. Arthur (K. J.), Lucius (T. A.), Moth (L. L. L.), and Edward Prince of Wales, are the most fully drawn. The others are Rutland (H. VI.), 2 sons of Edward IV. and 2 sons of Clarence (R. III.), Marcius (Cor.), Lucius (J. C.), the page in Timon, Robin and William Page (M. W.), Mamillius (W. T.), and Macduff's son. Herr Thümmel goes through the list one by one, pointing out the characteristics which distinguish each of them.

The yearly report has to tell of a small falling off in numbers. There are now 172 members, besides 52 purchasers of the Year Book.

Dr Herman Schaafhausen gives an account of the Kesselstadt mask, which he maintains is of Shakspere. It is a cast taken after death, and dated 1616. Its authentic history goes no further back than that it was bought at a ragshop, now unknown, in Mainz. But in the Kesselstadt collection at Mainz there was a picture which, tradition said, represented Shakspere, and which Dr Schaafhausen has satisfied himself is a portrait of Ben Jonson. The interest in English literature which led a Kesselstadt to acquire that portrait might lead him to get one of Shakspere, and, if this portrait which he may have had was the mask in question, it would account for its having been found at Mainz.

With regard to the evidence afforded by the mask itself, Dr Schaafhausen thinks it has no resemblance to the Stratford bust; but is like the Droeshout portrait. Still he does not rely chiefly on its agreement with known portraits, but on the fact that its nobleness of form answers to what we might expect in the head of Shakspere. Should we be afraid to rely on this evidence, there is an easy way of settling the question. We can dig up Shakspere's skull, and compare

the two. True, this may seem to offend against the letter of the epitaph,

Bleste be the man y^t spares thes stones And curst be he y^t moves my bones.

"But there is no desecration in entrusting the noble remains of the poet to the enquiring eye of Science; which will but learn something new from them, and place beyond doubt the value of another precious relic of him, and then restore them to the quiet of the grave."

Professor Delius's paper on the original text of *King Lear*, which follows, will be found translated in our Transactions above, p. 125.

K. Elze comes next, with a paper on Shakspere's character, and his way of looking at life.

In his private life Herr Elze supposes Shakspere to have been kindly and genial, but probably somewhat proud and independent, caring more for wealth and for position as a landed proprietor than for literary fame. In this, as in some other respects, he is like Scott, over whom he had the advantage, that while both could earn money, only Shakspere knew how to manage it when he had earned it. He must have been a man of steady purpose, not given to make undue claims for himself; indeed, hating exaggeration in all forms, and always trying to see the actual truth of things. Only thus can he have learned that deep insight into the problems of life and thought which shows itself in his works, especially in the great plays of his later time.

As to his opinions on special points of religion and politics, they are hard, if not impossible, to come at. He was not a Catholic, but neither was he a dogmatic Protestant; his view was large, tolerant, and worldly. So in politics, he cannot be claimed for any party; he looks at all fairly, and, as in private morals, so in public, regards self-control and practical wisdom as the most admirable virtues. If he seems to have less regard for the middle class than for kings and nobles, it is because in his time it had less weight and importance than now. Even his well-marked patriotism does not interfere with his fairness; he is as just to foreigners as to Englishmen. (I cannot help thinking that Professor Elze overlooks, out of sympathy, some prejudice against the French.) Finally he expresses his belief that Shakspere must have exercised himself in that self-control which he evidently prized above all instinctive goodness.

Freiherr von Friesen gives a study of Ben Jonson. He does justice to Jonson's great energy and ability, but says that he drew characteristics rather than character; while his view of life is cynical and wants ethical feeling. Of the masques, he says that they mark the transition from the national drama, for which Shakspere wrote, to a mere court drama, lower in its aims and tone. Whatever other causes may have worked to this end, the poets who helped towards it (and chief among them Ben Jonson as the ablest) must share the blame.

We have to thank Dr Wilhelm Wagner for a reprint of Alcilia, a collection of poems by an unknown author, which he has edited very carefully from the only perfect copy of the first edition (1595), which is in the Town Library at Hamburg. Dr Wagner points out one or two verbal resemblances between these poems and passages in Romeo and Juliet. He also notices two passages which he thinks were suggested by lines in the Merchant of Venice:

'The fire of love is first bred in the eye,'

and

'In meanest show the most affection dwells, And richest pearls are found in simplest shells,'

The first he compares with the song in the casket scene,

'It is engendered in the eyes;'

the second with Bassanio's speech following the song. We cannot suppose that Shakspere borrowed his thoughts from Alcilia. We must, therefore, decide that the author of Alcilia had seen the casket scene upon the stage. If this be so, the first form of the Merchant of Venice must be earlier than 1595.

Herr W. König contributes a paper on Shakspere's poetical development and the succession of his plays. Herr König thinks that in the attempt to fix the relative dates of the plays too much attention has been paid to language, too little to the worth of the plays. By studying the idea of the play, and its poetical and dramatic treatment, we have a surer test of date than in style or versification.

It is impossible to abridge a paper which depends so much as this does on detail, and I will therefore content myself with giving Herr König's list, only adding that he believes *Pericles, Titus Andronicus*, and the three parts of *Henry VI*, to be wholly the work of Shakspere.

2. 3. 4.	Pericles Henry VI, I. Titus Andronicus Taming of Shrew	1585 1586 1587 1588	10. Henry VI, II. } 11. Henry VI, III. } 12. Richard III }	1590 1588 1591 1591
6.	Comedy of Errors Two Gentlemen Love's Labours Lost	1589 1589	13. King John 14. Richard II 15. All's Well	1592 1592-3
	Romeo and Juliet	1590		1593

16. M. of Venice	1595	Pericles, Act 4.	
17. Henry IV, I.	1596-7	28. King Lear	1604
18. Henry IV, II. 5 19. Henry V	1598	29. Othello 30. Cymbeline	1605
20. Merry Wives)	1598-9	31. Macbeth	1606
21. Much Ado		32. Coriolanus	1606
22. As You Like It 23. Twelfth Night	1599	33. Antony and Cleopatra 34. Timon of Athens	1607
24. Hamlet	1600, 1601	35. Troilus and Cressida	1608
25. Julius Cæsar	1601-2	36. Winter's Tale)	1010
26. Henry VIII	1602-3	37. Tempest } 1609,	1010
27. Measure for Measure	1603		

A paper by W. König, jun., follows on Shakspere and Voltaire. This not only gives a good account of Voltaire's writings about Shakspere, it also traces the influence which the study of Shakspere had on Voltaire's own plays. Thus he thinks that the introduction of a ghost in Eriphyle, and again in Semiramis, is borrowed from Hamlet. Zaire is founded upon Othello, but the pocket-handkerchief has been changed into a letter. The gradual training of a century was necessary before the polite French ear could bear the word 'mouchoir' on the stage. In Zaire Voltaire brings upon the stage for the first time names belonging to French history. This novelty too he owed to Shakspere. The Death of Cresur is founded upon Shakspere's play. In all these cases Voltaire's thoroughly French taste has led him to alter (for the worse) the models he drew from. In some degree Herr König may be said to vindicate Voltaire's consistency, since he holds that Voltaire, while really admiring some passages in Shakspere's plays, yet always believed in the rules of the so-called classical drama. He could honestly praise Shakspere while yet unknown in France, but when it seemed that Shakspere was to be invoked as an authority for breaking the established laws of French dramatic poetry, he could no less honestly combat what he looked upon as a fatal error. Neither by nature nor education was Voltaire capable of understanding Shakspere truly, and so appreciating the greatness of which he still had an instinctive feeling.

Hamlet in Spain, by Caroline Michaelis, gives an account of the attention, or rather the neglect, which Shakspere has met with in Spain. Hitherto he has been known very little, and only through translations of the Voltairean school. Now a complete translation is being published by S. Jaime Clark, which is conscientiously and well done, following the form of the original as nearly as possible. The latter part of the paper describes a new Hamlet by S. Coello. It is inspired by Shakspere, but is freely altered, and has been changed

from a tragedy into a drama, in which seven characters carefully observe the unities.

A kindly notice of the publications of our own Society by Prof. Delius completes the list of papers.

There is also a list of Shakspere performances at the German theatres which is enough to stir envy and shame in any Englishman. From this it appears that in 32 theatres from which returns have been given, no less than 25 of Shakspere's plays have been acted—some of them many times.

A page to the memory of Mr Howard Staunton, some reviews of Shakspere literature, and a list of books and articles on Shaksperian matters for 1873-4, compiled by Mr Albert Cohn, complete the volume.

^{&#}x27;lubber': 2 Gent., II. v. 47, &c. "Nihil loci est segnitiæ, neque socordiæ. There no time to plaie the litherbie [lither = wicked] now, or lasie lubber."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 19, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

^{&#}x27;lubberly': My. Wives, V. v. 195. "In faith, this is but a great lubberly knaue, which seemeth to you to be such a tall [= brave] fellow: feare him not."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 167, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

^{&#}x27;minion': sb. Tempest, IV. 98. "Adolescentula, formâ & vultu adeo modesto, adeo venusto, vt nihil suprà. A young wench, a pretty dapper lasse, a little young minion of beautie and countenance; so demure and so faire, so well fauoured withall, as that nothing may excell it, or goe beyond."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 12, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

[&]quot;A quicke witte will take soone, a staid memorie will hold fast, a dull head may proue somwhat, a meane witte offers faire, praise bewrayeth some courage, awe some; in eache kinde there is likelyhood, and yet error in eche. For as there be faire blossomes, so there be nipping frostes."—1581; R. Mulcaster, Positions, p. 140.

Collation of the 1st edition of Marlowe's Edward II, 1594 (the only known copy, discovered in Cassel), with Dyce's text of 1850, Marlowe's Works, vol. ii., by Dr Rudolf Genée of Dresden.

"The troublesome

raigne and lamentable death of
Edward the second, King of
England: with the tragicall
fall of proud Mortimer:

As it was fundrie times publiquely acted in the honourable citie of London, by the right honourable the Earle of Pembrooke his fervants.

Written by Chri. Marlow Gent.



Imprinted at London for William Iones, dwelling neere Holbourne conduit, at the figne of the Gunne, 1594."

The back of the title-page is blank. There is no Dramatis Personæ. The text contains 91 pages besides the title, not paged or signd. The title above is not a facsimile.

APPENDIX VI.

LIST OF THE CHIEF 1 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EDITION OF 1594 AND THAT OF THE 1st EDITION OF ALEX. DYCE, LONDON, 1850. (Vol. II.)

Ed. A. Dyce, 1850.		50. Edition of 1594.
Page	Line	[ACT I. Scene i. Cunningham.]
165	2	Enter Gaueston reading on a letter that was brought
		from the king ('reading a letter from the king.'
		Cunningham).
"	16	let me die (for 'lie,' p. 118, col. 1, ed. Cunningham).
"	18	artick (for 'arctic').
166	5	Tanti: Ile fanne, for 'Tanti; I'll fawn' (as in Cun-
	. 0	ningham).
"	7, 8	'Enter three poor Men' after the words 'what are
	0.9	these?'
"	23	Sold. (for 3 Man) Farewell, &c.
167	$\frac{27}{4}$	Porpintine (for 'porcupine').
168	6	[Aside] omitted, like all other 'Asides' in the play. My lord, here comes, &c. (for 'By'r lord,' &c.: Cun.
100	U	'Here comes my lord the king': Dyce).
	7	[Retires] omitted.
"	8, ff.	Enter the King, Lancaster, Mortimer senior, Mortimer
"	-,	junior, Edmund Earl of Kent, Guie Earle of War-
		wicke, &c. (as in Cunningham, p. 119, col. 1). (N. B.
		In the rest of the play the two Mortimers are always
		distinguisht as senior and junior.)
170	1	for 'Mowbray' here as elsewhere, is 'Mowbery.' Cun-
		ningham has 'Moubery.'
,,	22	And northward Gaueston, &c. (for 'Lancaster: Cun-
4 24 4	0.0	ningham, p. 120, col. 2).
171	2, 3	Exeunt Nobiles (for 'Exeunt Nobles': Cun. 'all,
		except', &c.: Dyce).
n 12		

Most of them are of no importance whatever. A superfluous line is recoverd in Act IV. Sc. v. I add a few references to Cunningham's edition.

—F. J. F.

_	**	[ACT I. Scene ii. Cun.]
Page	Line 8	Enter both the Mortimer, Warwick, and Lancaster (as
174	0	in Cunningham, but with 'Mortimers').
176	4	after 'and us': Enter the Bishop of Canterbury (for
		'Archbishop of Canterbury and a Messenger).
177	14	Exit Attendant ('Messenger,' Cunningham): omitted.
177	1	Enter the Queene (for Enter Queen Isabella).
22	23	oppress'd by (for with: Cunningham, p. 122, col. 1).
		[ACT I. Scene iv. Cun.]
178	7	Archb of Cant. omitted, so that Mortimer speaks the
		line.
179	15	[Exeunt] omitted.
	$\frac{1}{7}$	Enter Nobiles. He subscribes, &c., omitted.
33	14	Enter the King and Gaveston.
180	8	We will not thus be facst, &c. (for 'faced').
,,	28	[Attendants remove Gav., &c., omitted.
,,	18	This Ile (for 'isle').
182	4	these lords (sic).
$1\overset{"}{8}3$	$\frac{25}{7}$	be (for 'are'). [Subscribes] omitted.
	16	Exeunt Nobiles.
184	1	may (for 'make').
185	4	[The exchange, &c.] omitted.
187	6	Circes (for 'Circe').
"	21, 22	Enter the Nobles to the Queene.
191	$\frac{2}{13}$	murtherer (for 'murderer').
$\frac{193}{194}$	6	thy neck (sic). imbrotherie (for 'embroidery': Cunningham, p. 127,
101	v	col. 1).
196	6	The conquering Hector (for 'Hercules').
		[ACT II. Scene i. Cun.]
197	15	Enter Spencer, &c.
199	6	such formal (sic) toys (as in Dyce and Cunningham,
200	Ů	'formal,' of form and ceremony).
,,	20	Enter the Lady.
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	21	Lady (for 'Niece,' as afterwards).
,,	$\frac{27}{2}$	[reads] omitted, as afterwards.
200	3 4	But rest thee, &c. (for But 'stay' thee). [Puts the letter, &c.] omitted.
"	11	after: done, madam, 'Exit' (as in Cunningham, p.
"		128, col. 2).
	9.4	
29	24	[Exeunt] omitted.

		FACOURTY OF 11 41 3
Page	Line	[ACT II. Scene ii. Cun.]
202	9	Edw. (wrongly for Kent).
203	17	So did it sure with me (for fare).
205	. 22	Exit the King.
206	6	Enter a Poast.
,,,	8	Messen.
99	9	[Giving, &c., omitted.
207	4	[Enter Guard, omitted.
,,,	13	[Enter King, &c., omitted.
208	1	Would (for 'Twould).
"	11	overstretched, hath (wrongly for break).
"	17	made road (for make).
210	12	Exeunt Nobiles (for 'Nobles': Cun. 'Exit with
077	1010	Y. Mortimer': Dyce).
211	16-18	Enter the Queene, Ladies 3, Baldock and Spencer.
		(Also in Sc. iv.: Lady for Niece).
		[ACT II Come in Com]
		[ACT II. Scene iv. Cun.]
214	21	[Enter Queene, &c.] omitted.
215	9	after: 'your lovers sake' Exeunt omnes, manet Isa-
	* 0	bella.
,,	18	Enter the Barons alarums (same words as in Cunning-
01.0	70	ham. Not in Dyce).
216	18	and therefore be gone ('and' is bad).
217	6	[Exeunt, &c.] omitted.
22	17	Exeunt.
		[ACT II. Scene v. Cun.]
219	1	Enter the Nobiles.
		N. B. In the lines on this page is another division.
220	23	'short' omitted (as in Cunningham, making the line
		9 syllables). 'These short delays': Dyce.
223	24	Exit cum servis Pen.
22	27	Exeunt ambo.
		[ACT III. Scene ii. Cun.]
005		
225	17	My 'lovely' Pierce, my Gaveston again: (my, for of).
226	20, 21	Enter Hugh Spencer, an old man, father to the yong
		Spencer, with the truncheon, and soldiers ('an old
007	10	man' inserted).
227	10	True, and it like, &c. (and, for an).
228		Lewne a Frenchman (Lewne for Levune).
229	9	[Exit, &c.] omitted.
22 .	10	Enter Lord Matre.
991	11, 14	Matre (for 'Arundel'). kneeles and says ('and says' added).
231	4	kneeres and says (and says added).

	COLLA	TION OF THE UNIQUE 1594 MARLOWE'S EDWARD II. 419
Page 232 ", 233 ",	2 & 8 6 3 8	Enter Herald from the Barons, &c. (as in Curningham, p. 137, col. 2). Messenger (for 'Herald'). route (for root). Embrace (for Embraces) Spencer. [Exit] omitted.
		[ACT III. Scene iii. Cun.]
235	9	Enter King Edward with the Barons captives.
236	23 8	[Exit Kent] omitted.
"	28	Tis but temporal, &c. (for It is). [The captives, &c.] omitted.
237	3, 4	Lewne (for Levune).
"	15 19	leuied (for levelled). claps close (wrongly for cap so close).
"	10	
020	4	[ACT IV. Scene i. Cun.]
238	1	Edmund.
		[ACT IV. Scene ii. Cun.]
2 39	$\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 15 \end{array}$	Enter the Queene and her sonne.
241	14	Henolt (for Henoult). party (for part).
244	9	Enter a Poast.
246	$\frac{6}{26}$	And made the channels (for 'Who made the channel'). [Exeunt] omitted.
"	20	
		[ACT IV. Scene v. Cun.]
247	1, 2	Spencer, flying about the stage (as in Cunningham, p. 142, col. 1).
,,	9	r'enforce (badly for reinforce).
,,	12	[Exeunt] omitted.
27	13 18	Edmund alone. Vilde (for Vile).
249	13	scape (as in Cunningham, p. 143, col. 1).
,,	18	Edm.
"	19, 20	Enter Rice ap Howell, and the Maior of Bristow, with Spencer the father.
250	15	Unhappies.
"	25	Meanwhile have hence this rebel to the block. Your lordship cannot priviledge your head.
		[This is a lost line recovered. Act IV. Sc. v., p. 143,
		col. 1, ed. Cunningham.]
251	$\frac{2}{9}$	[Exeunt, &c.] omitted.
97 N		Exeunt omnes. Prans., 1876. 29
41	. 50 5001 I	

Page	Line	[ACT IV. Scene vi. Cun.]
251	11, 12	'the three latter disguised' omitted.
252	4	of that philosophie (for 'thy').
,,	14	Monks (for First M.).
253	4	open, for ope (ope is better).
254	18	Spencer, a sweet Spencer (for, 'Spencer, sweet Spencer').
22	15	For friend hath Edward none but these, and these;
		And these must die, &c. (Cunningham reads, 'For friend hath [hapless] Edward none, but these; And these must die under a tyrant's sword.' IV. vi., p. 144, col. 2.)
256	8	are fleeted hence (for 'fleeting').
		[ACT V. Scene i. Cun.]
22	23, 24	with the Bishop for the crowne.
257	18	Full often, &c. (as in Cun., for 'oft': Dyce).
258	27	survives (for survive: Cun., p. 145, col. 2).
259	7	In which extreme (for extremes: Cun.).
260	14	'be king' omitted (as in Cun.).
261	22	after 'myself!' Enter Bartley (and afterwards, ed. 1594 has Bartley, for Berkely: Cun., p. 146, col. 2).
263	1	of the queen (as in Cun.).
264	2	Exeunt omnes (as in Cun.).
		[ACT V. Scene ii. Cun., p. 147, col. 1.]
"	14	imports as much (badly, for us: Cun., p. 147, col. 1).
"	17	will bear (for 'twill).
268	21	it is.
270	2	Exeunt omnes.
0.00		[ACT V. Scene iii. Cun., p. 149, col. 2.]
272	11 7	'to Killingworth'; Enter Edmund (for 'Kent': Cun.).
273	15	'King Edward'; Manent Edmund and the soldiers. Exeunt omnes (as in Cun.).
"	10	
		[ACT V. Scene iv. Cun., p. 149, col. 2.]
23	16	Enter Mortimer alone.
99	21	when his sonne is of age (metre needs 'sons,' as in
~	25	Cun.). [reads] omitted.
27	27	No stops in the line (as in Cun.).
274	13	[Enter Lightborn] omitted.
,,	26	through the throat (for 'down': To strangle with a
,,		lawn thrust 'down' the throat is of course much
		better).
275	11	ten miles end (for 'ten mile end').

dare (Who is the man dare say.—Cunningham, p. 153, col. 1).

17 Tis my hand, &c. (for It is a).

289 12, 14 Lords (for Second Lord).

" 20 Lords.

290 12 [Exeunt] omitted.

Finis.

Imprinted at London for William Ihones, and are to be solde at his shop, neere unto Houlbourne: Conduit. 1594.

APPENDIX VII.

SHAKSPEREANA

PUBLISHED DURING THE YEARS 1874 AND 1875.

COMMUNICATED BY

FRANZ THIMM.

I. ENGLISH EDITIONS OF SHAKSPERE.

1874. Shakspere's Works.

Edited by C. M. Clarke, 8vo.

Ed. by Alex. Dyce, 3rd Ed. 9 vols. 8vo.

Ed. by Ch. Knight, 340 Illustrations, 2 vols. roy. 8vo.

Ed. by C. Knight, post 8vo.

Ed. by S. W. Singer (cheap reprint of the former Editions, with the forged documents taken out of the Life), 10 vols. 12mo.

Reprinted from early Editions with Life and Glossary, post 8vo. Warne. The Reference Shakspeare. A self-interpreting Edition containing 11,600 References. Compiled by John B. Marsh. New Edition. London.

Shakspeare's Plays selected for the use of Schools by the Rev. Henry N. Hudson, 3rd Series. Boston.

1875. Shakspere's Works.

Edited by C. and W. C. Clarke, illustrated from the Boydell's Gallery, 4 vols, 8vo.

Edited by F. G. Bell, 6 vols. 12mo. Collins.

Excelsior Edition, roy. 8vo. Nimmo.

Plays, edited and annotated by Charles and M. Cowden Clarke, vol. i. Comedies, 4to. Cassell.

Reduced facsimile Edition of 1623, with a Preface by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips. Chatto and Windus.

Stratford Edition, edited by Ch. Knight, fresh reprint, 6 vols. 12mo. 1 Ed. by Bowdler, School Edition, post 8vo.

¹ The stereotype plates of this edition have been sold to an American house, as those of Valpy's small illustrated edition (25 vols. Bell and Sons) have been,—F.

II. ENGLISH SHAKSPEREANA.

Bellamy, G. Somers. The new Shaksperian Dictionary of Quotations with marginal Classification and Reference. 8vo. London, 1875.

Boydell's Gallery. Illustrations from Boydell's Gallery, Photographed.

2 vols. roy. 8vo. 1874.

Browne, C. Elliot. Shakespeare's Son-in-Law. (Article in Fraser's Mag.) April, 1874.

Burgess, Tom. Historic Warwickshire, 1876.

Crotch (W. Duppa). Double Acrostics from Shakspeare. 16mo. London, 1875.

Dodd's Beauties of Shakspeare, 1876. Nimmo.

Dowden (Edward). Shakspere: a critical study of his Mind and Art. 8vo. 1875.

Furnivall, F. J. The Succession of Shakspeare's Works, 1874.

(An Introduction to the 2nd English Edition of Gervinus.)

Goodson, T. Religious and Moral Sentiments. Gems gathered by

G. 12mo. London, 1874.

Hall, N. T. Shaksperean Statistics, 2nd Edition, Cambridge, 1874. Hamlet, or, Shakspeare's Philosophy of History. 8vo. London, 1875. (See Marshall, F.)

Holmes. The Authorship of Shakspeare. 3rd Ed. with Appendix.

New York, 1875.

Ingleby, C. M. Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse; being materials for a history of opinion, on S. and his works, from writers of the first century after his rise. 8vo. London, 1875.

The Still Lion. An Essay towards the restoration of S. Text.

8vo. London, 1874.

Shakspeare Hermeneutics. fsc. 4to. London, 1875.

On Shakspeare's Traditional Birthday (Transactions of Roy. Soc. of Literature, II. S., vol. x., 1874).

Jacox, Francis, Shakspeare Diversions, a Medley of Motley Wear.

8vo. London, 1875.

Johnston, G. Cupid's Birthday Book: one Thousand Lovedarts from Shakspeare. Gathered and arranged for every Day in the Year.

32mo. cloth, 1875.

Lloyd, Wm. Watkiss. Critical Essays on the Plays of Shakespeare.
Post 8vo. London, 1875. (Reprinted from Singer's ed., with 2 fresh pages of 'Advertisement'. The best half-crown book on Shakspere.—F.)

Marshall, Frank. A Study of Hamlet. 8vo. London, 1875.

Morgan (Aaron). The Mind of Shakspeare as exhibited in his Works, 12mo. London, 1875.

Shakspeare Daily Gem Book, a Journal for Birthdays. 32mo.

London, 1875.

Shakspeare and Fletcher, the Two Noble Kinsmen; edited by W. Skeat. 12mo. London, 1875.

The Shakspeare Calendar, an Ornamental Date Block, designed by Walter Crane. London, 1875.

Household Words, square 16mo. reduced to 6s., 1875.

Lore; Virtue's Fine Art Almanac for 1874, 18mo.

Almanack and Companion, 2,000 Quotations from Shakspeare. 12mo. 1874 and 1875.

Birthday-book. Containing one or more quotations from Shakspeare for every day in the year, and blank pages for Autographs. Imp. 32mo. 1874, 12mo. 1875,

Teetgen, Alex. Shakspeare's King "Edward the Third," absurdly called, and scandalously treated as a "doubtful play," an indignation pamphlet, together with an essay on the poetry of the future. 8vo. London, 1875.

Tyler, Thomas. Philosophy of Hamlet. 8vo. London, 1875.

Warburton's Shakspeare Copy Books, for School use. 32 pages roy. 4to. 1874.

Ward, Ad. History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1875.

Winsor (Justin). Bibliography of original Quartos and Folios of Shakspeare, 4to. Boston, U. S., 1876, £6. 6s.

Young Men (Shakspeare's). Article in the Westminster Review, October, 1876.

GERMAN TRANSLATIONS OF SHAKSPERE.

- Shakspeare's Werke von Schlegel und Tieck. Erste illustrirte Ausgabe, herausgegeben von Richard Gosche und Benno Tschischwitz. 2te verbesserte Auflage. 8 vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1875.
- sämmtliche Dramatische Werke in drei Bänden. Uebersetzt von Schlegel, Benda und Voss. 3 vols. 12mo. Leipzig, 1875. - sämmtliche Werke. Uebersetzt von A. W. Schlegel, F. Boden-

stedt, N. Delius, etc. Mit Illustrationen von Sir J. Gilbert.

imp. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1874.

- Hamlet, Prinz von Dänemark. In Wort und Sinn getreuer Prosa Uebersetzung von C. Hackh. Mit einleitenden kritischen Studien der Amleth-Sage nach Saxo-Grammaticus, und Urtheile über die Tragödie von Johnson, Göthe, Herder, Börne, Gervinus, Kreyssig, Vischer und Anderen. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1874.

— Julius Caesar, übersetzt von R. Prölss. Leipzig, 1875.

- König Lear. Drama in 5 Aufzügen, übersetzt und für die Münchener Hofbühne bearbeitet von Ernst Possart, Oberregistrar und königl. Hofschauspieler in München. 8vo. München, 1874.

- Merchant of Venice. School edition (English), with memoirs and German notes, by C. Frh. de Wickede. 8vo. Altenburg,

1875.

- A Midsummer Night's Dream. School Edition, ed. by Wickede. 1875.
- --- Romeo und Juliet, übersetzt von A. W. von Schlegel. Mit 4 Photographien nach den Original-Cartons und mehreren Holzschnitten, von Ferdinand Piloty. Small folio, bound. 1875.

GERMAN SHAKSPEREANA.

- Shakespearomanie (besprochen in Herrig's Magazin für Benedix. Literatur). 1874. No. 8.
- Bodenstedt, Fr. Shakspeare's Frauencharaktere. 8vo. Berlin, 1875. Friesen, Freiherr H. Altengland und William Shakspeare.
 - Band I. Shakspeare Studien. Wien, 1874.
 - Wilhelm Shakspere's Dramen vom Beginn seiner Band II. Laufbahn bis 1601. 8vo. Wien, 1875.
 - Band III. Dramen von 1601 bis zum Schlusse seiner Laufbahn. 8vo. 1876.
- Fulda, Carl. Wilhelm Shakespere. Eine neue Studie. 12mo. Marbach, 1875.
- Fünfzehn Essays. Neue Folge. 8vo. Berlin, Grimm, Hermann. 1875. (Enthält Shakspeare's Sturm und Hamlet's Character.)
- Haring, G. H. Die Blüthezeit des englischen Dramas. Hamburg. 1875.
- Hartman, E. v. Shakspeare's Romeo und Julia. gr. 8vo. Leipzig, 1874.
- Hense, C. C. Personification in griechischen Dichtungen mit Berücksichtigung lateinischer Dichter und Shakspeare. 4to. 1874.
- Herman, C. Ueber Shakespeare's Midsummer Nights Dream. Eine 2te Ausgabe. 8vo. Braunschweig, 1874. Studie.
- Jacoby, Dr. Kaufmann von Venedig. Ein Vortrag. (Grenzboten, No. 16.) 1874.
- Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakspeare-Gesellschaft. Band IX, 1874. Band X, 1875.
- Kaiser, V. Macbeth und Lady Macbeth in Shakspeare's Dichtungen und in Kunstwerken von Cornelius und Kaulbach. gr. 8vo. Basel, 1875.
- Kaulbach's Briefe an Ober-Postrath Schüller, über seine Shakspeare Compositionen. (In Rodenberg's Deutscher Rundschau, 1874.) Klingelhöver, Dr. W. Plaute imité par Molière et Shakspere. 4to.
- Darmstadt, 1875.
- Klein, J. L. Geschichte des englischen Dramas. Band I. Leipzig, 1875.
- Kühn, C. Ueber Ducis in seiner Beziehung zu Shakspeare. 8vo. Jena, 1875.
- Laube, H. Shakspeare Splitter. (Rundschau, Heft V.) 1875.
- Lamb. Six Tales from Shakspeare. Mit Anmerkungen und Wörterbuch von F. Balty. 3te Auflage. 8vo. Altenburg, 1875.

Lindau, Paul. Die Shakespearomanie von R. Benedix. (Gegenwart, Heft 43 & 44.) 1874.

Liebau, G. Erzählungen aus der Shakspeare Welt. Für die deutsche Jugend. Berlin, 1875.

Marbach, O. Shakspeare-Prometheus. Phantastisch-satirisches Zauberspiel vor dem Höllenraihn. 8vo. Leipzig, 1874.

Maas, Dr. M. Unsere deutschen Dichterheroen und die sogenannte Shakspearomanie. gr. 8vo. Thorn, 1874.

Meissner, Joh. Shakespeare-Curiosa. (Mag. für Literatur des Auslandes. No. 27.) 1874.

Zu Shakespeare's Lebensgang. (In Historien.) Berlin, 1875. Maurer, Dr. K. Der Sprachgebrauch in Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice, grammatisch dargestellt. 4to. Cöln, 1875.

Noiré, Ludwig. Zwölf Briefe eines Shakespearomanen, 8vo. Leipzig, 1874.

Romeo und Julia im Lichte der Philosophie des Prölsz, Robert. Unbewussten. 12mo. Dresden, 1874.

— Julius Caesar erläutert. 12mo. Leipzig, 1875. — Kaufmann von Venedig erläutert. 12mo. 1875.

Putlitz, Gustav zu. Theater-Erinnerungen. 2te Aufl. 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1875. (Cont.: Shakspeare-Bearbeitungen, S.-Feier, Sommernachtstraum, etc.)

Quellen. Zwei neu-entdeckte Shakspeare Quellen. Aufsatz in "Die

Literatur." No. 1 & 3. 1874.

Rullmann, W. Shakspearomanie. Zur Abwehr. Ein Gegenstück. (Deutsche Warte, VI. Heft 2.) 1874.

Schmidt, Dr. Alex. Shakspeare-Lexicon. A complete Dictionary of all the English words, phrases and constructions in the works of the poet. 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin. Vol. I, 1874. Vol. II,

Thiel, Dr. B. The principal reasons for Shakspeare remaining unpopular longer than a century even in England. 8vo. Augsburg, 1874.

Timme, Otto. Commentar über die erste Scene des 2ten Aktes von Shakspeare's Macbeth. 8vo. Jena, 1874.

Wagner, Dr. W. Shakspeare und die neueste Kritik. 8vo. Hamburg, 1874.

Werner, Karl. Vorlesungen über Shakspeare's Hamlet, gehalten in der Universität zu Berlin (zuerst im Wintersemester 1859-1860, zuletzt 1871-1872). 8vo. Berlin, 1875.

Note for p. 186.

p. 186. The Bond-Story is not in either Wynkyn de Worde's edition, or John Kynge's of 1557 (in the Bodleian), or Robinson's professedly-corrected translation publisht by Thomas Est in 1577 and 1595. To show the slight changes in the different editions of the Casket-Story, Mr J. S. Wood, the Librarian of St John's Coll. Camb., has kindly sent me an extract from the unique copy of the Wynkyn de Worde in his College Library, and Mr Parker has set underneath it John Kynge's text, collated with the 1595 edition, both in the Bodleian:—

Gesta Romanorum. London. Wynkyn de Worde. Story No. 32, fol. I. vi. recto:—

And whan he hadde thus sayd he lette brynge forth thre vesselles. The fyrste was made of pure golde couched well with precyous stones without and within full of deed mennes bones / and there vpon was this poyse wryten / Who soo cheseth me shall fynde that he descrueth. The seconde vesselle was made of fyne syluer fylled with erthe and wormes and thus was the superscrypcyon / Who soo cheseth me shall fynde that his nature desyreth. The thyrde vessell was made of lede full within of precyous stones / and therupon was wryten this poyse / Who soo cheseth me shall fynde that god hathe dysposed for hym. These thre vessels the Emperour shewed to the mayden and sayd. Loo here doughter these ben noble vessels yf. thou chese one these wherin is profyte to the and to other than shalte thou haue my sone. And yf &c.

The hystorye of Gesta Romanorum: Lond. 1557. [Bodleian, Mason H. 119. Sign. n. iv, bk.]:—

And whan he had thus sayd, he let brynge forth thre vessels, the fyrst was made of pure golde well couched wyth precyous stones wythout & within, full of deed mennes bones, and thervpon was wryten 2 thys posey. Who so choseth me shall fynde that he de-The seconde vessell was made of fyne syluer, fylled wyth erth & wormds,3 and ye superscripeyon was thus. Who so choseth me, shall fynde that hys nature desyreth. The thyrde vessel was made of lede, full wythin of precyous stones, and therepon was wryten 4 thys posey. Who so choseth me, shall fynde that god hath These thre vessels the Emperour shewed to the disposed for hym. Lo, here doughter, these be noble vessels, yf thou mayden and sayd. cose 5 one of these wherin is profyte to the & to other, than shalte And yf (&c.) thou have my sone.

¹ beesette, ed. 1595. ² engrauen ³ wormes ⁴ insculpt ⁵ choose

(The Collations above, p. 457, are from Douce R. 4. "A Record of auncient Histories, intituled in Latin: Gesta Romanorum; newly perused and corrected by R. Robinson." Lond., Th. Est, 1595.)

[MS. Note by Douce:—Robinson has made use of the edition printed by W. de Worde, and corrupted rather than corrected the text. . . . This edition of 1595 contained but 43 histories: the subsequent ones have an additional story. See some account of Robinson in the British Bibliographer, I. 109, and in my Mus. note book vol.]

'Noll' is now obsolete. In Shakspere's time it seems to have been used only contemptuously, much as noddle at present. Midsu. N.'s Dr., III. ii. 17, an ass's nole I fixed on his head. But originally it was a good word for 'vertex,' 'occiput.' So we read in Ælfric's Glossary: "Caput heâfod. Capita mâ (heâfda some MSS. add). Vertex knoll. Cerebrum brægen," etc. In M.E. it also means head; Arthur, ed. Furnivall, l. 211:

pu art wood on be nolle.

In Webster—Mahn, s. v. noll, though O.E. hnoll is mentioned, yet it is suggested that noll probably is contracted from noddle. But if these two words be identical, it would be much safer to suppose that noddle was corrupted from noll by popular etymology connecting it with to nod; cf. causeway = cawsaye, l. 9990, sparrow-grass, crawfish, beef-eaters, etc. Koch., III. 1, 161-2 (cf. also note to l. 8411). In O.H.G. hnoll is culmen, cacumen, vertex, sinciput; in M.H.G. nol cacumen.—Prof. Zupitza, Note to l. 5544, Guy of Warwick, 1876. See note to l. 974.

'old': adj. great. Much Ado, V. ii. 98. "A ce drap, consturiers! To it, whoresons; or let vs go roundly to worke; also, there was old cutting, snipping, shredding, laying about them."—Cotgrave. "To keepe back an ole coyle."—ib. v. Diable. "Le Diable sera bien aux vaches. There will be an old stirre, hurrying, hurlyburly."—Cotgrave, Vache.

'pedant': L. L. Lost, III. 179. "Pedante, a pedante or a schoole-master, as Pedagogo [a schoole-master that teacheth the principles of learning, a teacher or trainer vp of young children.."]—1598; Florio.

'pied': adj. L. L. Lost, V. ii. 904. "Vache baillette. A pide cow, red and white."—1611; Cotgrave.

'preciseness': 1 Hen. VI., V. iv. 69 (not Shakspere). "P. dignus es Cum tua religiône, odio: nodum in scirpo quæris. You are well worthie to be hated for your pecuish preciseness: you make a

doubt, where all is as plaine as a pike staffe, you seeke a knot in a bulrush, in which is neuer any at all."—R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 100, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

"pricksong": Rom. & Jul., II. iv. 21. "Intauolatura, any song or musicke set in notes, pricke song."—1598; Florio.

'qualified': adj. Cymb., I. iv. 65. "Mystrisse, it is as well fallen out for her as may be, seeing she hath happened this chance, because [she] principally appertained to him that is such a qualified yong gentleman, one borne of such a stocke, so well affected to you and your daughter, and come of such a great house."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 286, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'sluttish': All's Well, V. ii. 7. "The old wife, shee spun the woufe; and a maid besides was togither with them, all ragged and tattered, very sluttish, and not much regarded, belike: she weaued that they spunne."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 212, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'square': sb. order. Ant. & Cleop., II. iii. 6. "Danus interturbat omnia. Danus brings all out of square: he marres all: he brings all into the briars."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 71, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'sunbright': Two Gent., III. i. 88. "A Princesse (Q. Eliz.) whose sunbright honor dazeleth the eies of sovraine Monarches; whose zealous inclination, like an inestimable Diamond enchased vpon a peereles Iewell, bewtifieth all other vertues that attend vpon her person.."—1587; William Lightfoote, The Complaint of England, sign. C.

'timely': adv. early. Macbeth, II. iii. 51. "Molto a buon hora, very timely, verie early."—1598; Florio.

'too-too': Merchant, II. vi. 42. "Nimium parce facit sumptum. He bestowes too too little cost: hee playes the very niggard."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 46, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'toy': sb. fancy. Rich. III., I. i. 60. "or if the toy take him in the head, he will finde some one cause or other, by hab or nab, hooke or crooke, & so, be it right or wrong, he will tumble me headlong into the grinding house."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 19, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'trot': an old trot. Shrew, I. ii. "Lesbia.. is a very drunken harebrainde woman.. Yet neuerthelesse I will bring her. See how earnest the old trot is to have her heere; and all because she is a drunken gossip of hers."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 21, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'unawares: at unawares': Troil. & Cres., III. ii. 40. "Oppri-

mere imprudentem. To take one at vnawares: to come vpon one of a suddaine."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 20, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'unmannerly': adj. 2 Gent., III. i. 393, &c. "Inurbano, vnciuill, vncourteous, rude, clownish, vnmanerly, homely, discourteous."—1598; Florio.

'uphold ('whate'er I forge').. in your speeches,' Titus, V. ii. 72. "I will now make as though I came this other way on the right hand: see that thou be readie to answer and uphold my talke, in euery point as shall be needfull."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 78, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'urchin': sb. Tempest, I. iii. 226. "Istrice, a porpuntine, or porkepine, a beast like a hedgehog, whose pricks are dangerous, an vrchin."—1598; Florio.

'vengeance' / Coriol., III. i. 262 (the v.!) "What (a vengeance) thinke you, desire I to haue, that dissembled long? (Quid (malum) me tandem censes velle..)."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 238, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'waver': Merchant, IV. i. 130. "Paulo momento huc illuc impellitur. Hee is as wavering as a wethercocke. He is heere and their (so) all in a moment. Theirs as much holde to his word, as to take a wet eele by the taile."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 27, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

'whit': sb. 2 Gent., IV. ii. 67. "Iota, a iot, a nifle, nothing, a whit, a crumme, nought."—1598; Florio.

'Winchester goose': 1 Hen. VI., I. iii. 53; Troil., V. x. 55. "Ital. Tarólo...a cunt-botch, or Winchester goose."—1598; Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

"world": sb. wonder. Much Ado, III. v. 38. "whether shee be wife to Pamphilus, or but his loue, I know not; but great with child, shee is by him: shee is now double ribbed. And it is a world (est opera pretium) to heare their presumption. For they fare as they were lunatike and not loue sicke."—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 19, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

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THE ORDER OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

MR FURNIVALL'S Introduction to the Leopold Shakspere, Cassell & Co., 10s. 6d., gives his order and groups of the Plays and Poems as follows:-

FIRST PERIOD (? 1588-1594).

a. The Comedy-of-Errors or Mistaken-Identity Group (Tit. Andr. not Shakspere's). Love's Labours Lost (? 1588-9); Errors (? 1589); Midsum. Night's Dream (? 1590). Two Gent. of Verona (? 1590-1).

b. Link-play. Two Ge c. The Passion Group.

Romeo and Juliet (? 1591-3); Venus and Adonis (? 1593); Lucrece (1593-4); The Passionate Pilgrim (pr. 1599).

d. The Early Histories.

Richard II. (? 1593); 1, 2, 3 Henry VI. (? 1592-4: 1 Henry VI. perhaps earlier); Richard III. (1594).

SECOND PERIOD (? 1595-1601).

a. The Life-plea Group. King John (? 1595);

The Merchant of Venice (? 1596).

b. A Farce: The Taming of the Shrew (?1596-7).

c. The 3 Comedies of Falstaff, with the
Trilogy of Henry IV., V.

1 Henry IV. (1596-7); 2 Henry IV.

(1597-8); The Merry Wives (1598-9);

Henry IV. (1596-9)

(1597-8); The Henry V. (1599).

d. The 3 Sunny- or Sweet-Time Comedies. Much Ado (1599-1600); As you like it (1600); Twelfth Night (1601).

e. The darkening Comedy. All's Well (1601-2). Shakspere's Sonnets (? 1592-1608).

THIRD PERIOD (1601-1608).

a. The Unfit-Nature or Under-Burden-failing Group. Julius Casar (1601); Hamlet (1602-3); Measure for Measure (? 1603),

b. The Tempter-yielding Group.
Othello (? 1604); Macbeth (1605-6)

c. The 1st Ingratitude and Cursing Play Lear (1605-6).

d. The Lust or False-Love Group. Troilus and Cressida (? 1606-7); Antony and Cleopatra (? 1606-7).

e. The 2nd Ingratitude and Cursing Group Coriolanus (? 1607-8); Timon (? 1607-8).

FOURTH PERIOD (? 1608-1613).

All plays of Re-union, of Reconciliation, and Forgiveness. a. By Men. Pericles (1608-9);
The Tempest (7 1609-10).
b. By Women (mainly). Cymbeline (? 1610);
Winter's Tale (1611); Hen. VIII. (1612-13).

Doubtful Plays: The Two Noble Kinsmen (? 1612-13), part Shakspere's. Edward III. (1594), none of it Shakspere's.

In the Notes to the same Introduction are Prof. Dowden's groups and order, thus:

1. PRE-SHAKSPERIAN GROUP. (Touched by Shakspere.) Titus Andronicus (blood and fire). 1 Henry VI.

2. MARLOWE-SHAKSPERE GROUP. Early History. 2 and 3 Henry VI. (Marlowe's presence). Richard III. (Marlowe's influence).

3. EARLY COMEDIES. Love's Labours Lost. Two Gentlemen. Midsummer-Night's Dream,

4. EARLY TRAGEDY. Romeo and Juliet. 5. MIDDLE HISTORY. Rich. II. K. John.

6. MIDDLE COMEDY. Merchant of Venice.

LATER HISTORY (History and Comedy united). 1 and 2 Henry IV. Henry V.

8. LATER COMEDY, Group (a.) Rough and boisterous comedy. Shrew. (No sadness.) Merry Wives. (b.) Refined, joyous, romantic.

Musical Twelfth-Night.
sadness. Much Ado. As You li

As You like it.

(Jaques the link to the next group.) Discordant (c.) Earnest. All's Well, sadness. Bitter, dark. Measure for Measure. Troilus and Cressida. Ironical.

9. MIDDLE TRAGEDY (= Tragedy of reflection). Julius Casar. Error and misfortune rather than passion and crime.

LATER TRAGEDY (= Tragedy of passion).
 Jealousy and murder. Othello.
 Ambition and murder. Macbeth.

Amouton and muraer. Macoem.
Ingratitude and parricide. Lear.
Voluptuousness. Antony and Cleopatra.
Haughtiness (alienation from country). Coriolanus.
Misanthropy (alienation from humanity). Timon. (Timon the climax.)

11. ROMANCES.

Sketch Marina (1st Tempest).
Tempest (Tempest again).
Cymbeline. Winter's Tale.

12. FRAGMENTS Henry VIII. Two Noble Kinsmen.

Observe I have early, middle, and later History; early, middle, and later Comedy; and early, middle, and later Tragedy; and the plays might well be read not only right through in chronological order, but also in these three lines chronologically:—

Comedy: a. b. c.

Tragedy: a. b. c.

History; a. b. c.









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